

Overseas Press Club of America

APRIL 19, 1988

Dateline



AND THE



**Has the media focus on 'character'
distorted the race of '88?**

INSIDE

**Winners of the
Overseas Press Club Awards**



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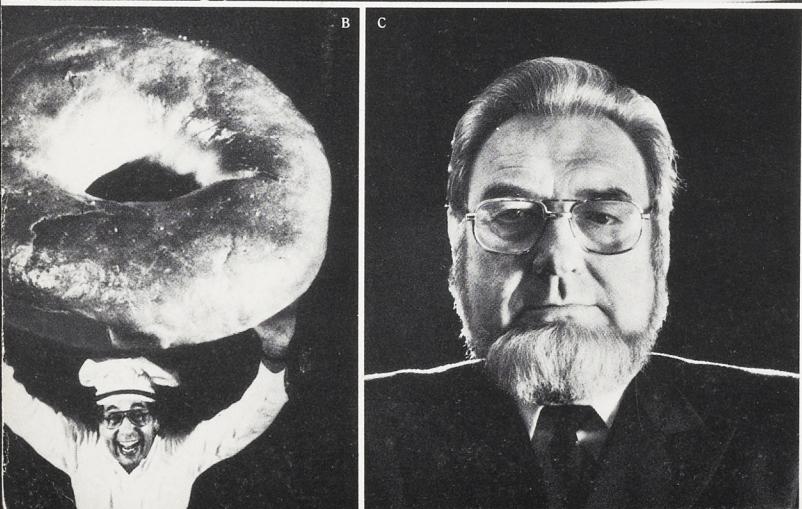
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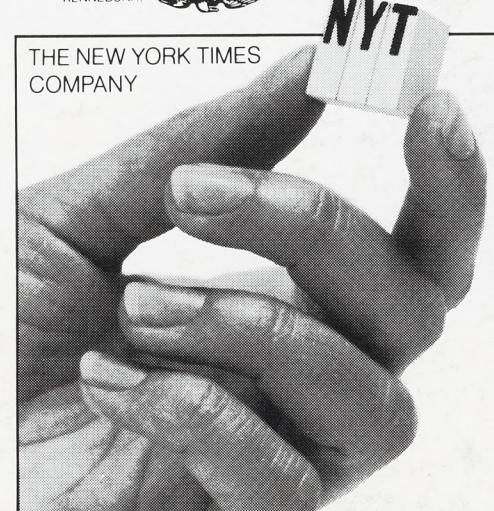
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Dateline

APRIL 19, 1988

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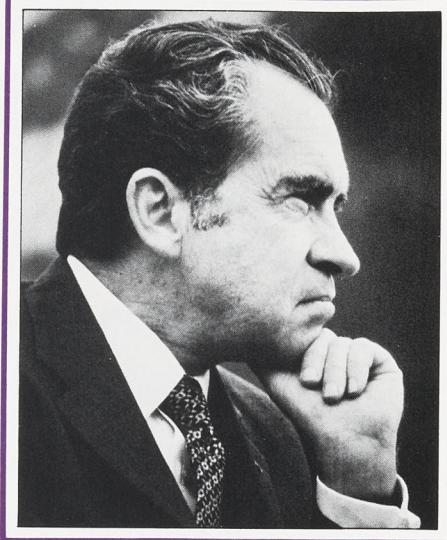
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Richard Nixon a hard time?
Wait till you see what they
wrote about **George Washington**

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“Such as it is, however, the press has become the greatest power within the Western countries; more powerful than the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary.”

Alexander Solzhenitsyn



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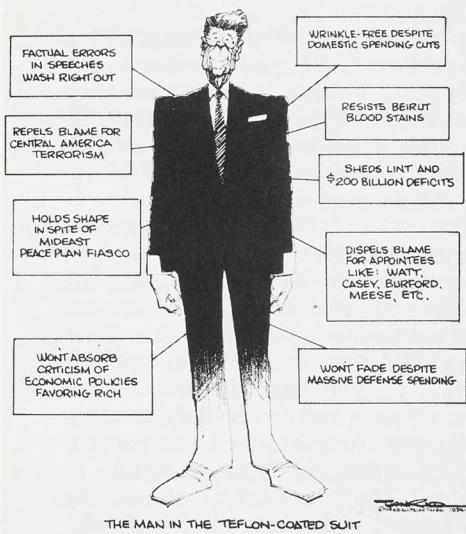
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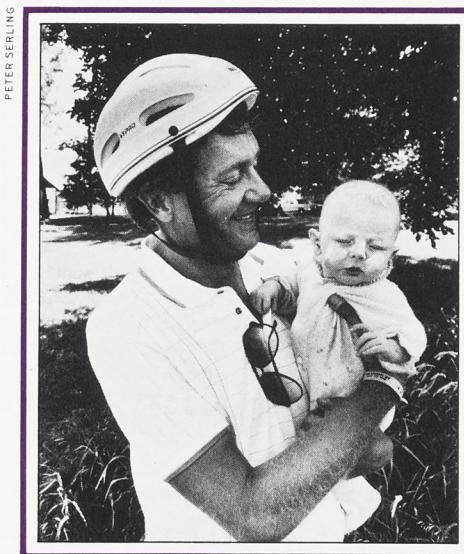
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ANPA



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BARRON'S

NATIONAL BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL WEEKLY

FEBRUARY 1, 1988

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EDITORIAL COMMENTARY

Fresh Disaster at Bhopal Indian Politics Threaten to Compound the Victims' Woes

AMBUSH journalism, so to speak, made headlines last week (although in the confrontation between that TV newscaster and the vice president of the U.S., it wasn't clear which one got bagged). In striking contrast, the press in India, or at least its gamier element, leaves no room for doubt as to just who is bushwhacking whom.

Last summer, in an ugly episode that attracted scant coverage in this country, an English-language Bombay weekly rag called Blitz published a forged letter which the late William J. Casey, while director of the Central Intelligence Agency, supposedly sent to Edwin F. Feulner, Jr., head of the Heritage Foundation. The fake document — two versions were printed in successive weeks — quoted Casey as congratulating the conservative think tank on its inspired plot to destabilize the Congress Party government of Rajiv Gandhi.

Blitz happens to be a Communist publication, which, according to the U.S. Information Service, regularly lends its pages to pushing Soviet propaganda. Feulner promptly wrote to the Indian ambassador to this country to denounce the Casey letter as a crude forgery — the two versions differed in significant detail — and to deny the existence of the so-called plot. That should have settled the matter.

* * *

Instead, it became a minor cause celebre in Indian government circles. Rajiv Gandhi reportedly liked the spurious exposé so much that he quoted it. Following an inflammatory speech by an Indian political figure who used the story to whip up anti-American hatred, a near-riot broke out at a USIS office in Calcutta. Mightily pleased by its successful piece of disinformation, Blitz re-

printed it toward the end of last year.

None of which will come as much of a surprise to Union Carbide Corp. Last time we looked ("Thought for Labor Day — In the Bhopal Disaster, There's Plenty of Blame to Go 'Round," *Barron's*, Sept. 7, 1987), the company, nearly three years after the worst industrial disaster in history, was locked in litigation with the Indian government on the issue of liability. Shortly thereafter, plaintiff and defendant entered into negotiations aimed at achieving a financial settlement. While the give-and-take at first seemed promising, to the point of generating hopeful headlines, by year-end both sides were back in court.

By then, however, much had changed — and not for the better. Early December brought the third anniversary of the tragedy that claimed nearly three thousand lives, a day of mourning and rage marked by torchlight parades, impassioned protests against any settlement and a general strike that all but shut down the capital of Madhya Pradesh. Forty-eight hours earlier, nicely timed to reinforce such anger, the Indian government filed criminal charges, including "culpable homicide," which carry sentences ranging from 3½ years to life in prison, against a number of top executives of Union Carbide of India Ltd. — Carbide's 51%-owned subsidiary — retired chairman Warren M. Anderson of Union Carbide Corp. and the parent company itself.

Two weeks later, an Indian jurist added injury to insult. In a ruling without legal precedent anywhere, Shri M. W. Deo, the fifth Bhopal district judge to preside over the proceedings, ordered Carbide to pay three thousand five hundred million rupees (some \$270 million) in "substantial interim-

compensation and welfare measures" to the victims. Calling the order a pre-judgment of the issues, in violation of all the tenets of due process, Carbide promptly appealed to a higher Indian tribunal. Hearings are scheduled for today and tomorrow.

One of Judge Deo's predecessors was summarily dismissed from the case when he also turned up in the role of plaintiff. Nothing daunted, his current successor in effect has declared himself the arbiter for, and advocate of, many thousands of plaintiffs. (The exact number, by the way, remains unknown, nor has New Delhi ever troubled to provide particulars of individual injuries, deaths or claims.) Thus, as Carbide argues, the "impugned order amounts to a judgment and decree without trial," one, moreover, that binds the judge, even after a trial, to accept nothing less. If not reversed, such twisted legal doctrine would also serve to make multinational corporations, and anyone who works for them, second-class citizens. That's a fraud of which even Blitz might be proud.

But then, in the Bhopal tragedy, as in so many other affairs of state, the Gandhi government hasn't been exactly straight-forward. Charges of nepotism, favoritism and corruption were swirling around the Prime Minister long before he inherited that exalted office from his martyred mother, Indira — one way or another, let's not forget, a single family has ruled India for most of its independent life — and not everyone can practice what the saintly Nehru preached.

Indeed, one of Gandhi's staunchest allies, the former Minister of Defense, was removed from office and expelled from the Congress Party when he ordered an investigation, which threatened to hit alarmingly close to home, into alleged kickbacks to the party faithful by a West German firm that sold submarines to the Indian navy. Similar probes by the authorities of other countries are afoot.

Nor has New Delhi, in its politicized handling of Bhopal, covered itself with glory. On the contrary, hypocrisy ran riot from day one. After all, Union Carbide Corp. holds just 51% of Union Carbide of India Ltd.; nearly 26% is owned by Government of India Financial Institutions, including the Industrial Credit and Investment Corp. of India, the Industrial Development Bank of India, and the Industrial Finance Corp. of India. If Union Carbide of Danbury, Conn., is guilty of something (as we have pointed out before), so willy-nilly are they.

Furthermore, like Union Carbide of India's 12 other factories throughout the country, the Bhopal plant has been, and remains, subject to almost endless gov-

ernment control. From 1974 onward, for example, the employment of foreign nationals fell under its authority, and the last such technicians left years before the trouble. The Indian authorities, moreover, have admitted in court that a score or more official agencies, notably the Department of Science and Technology and the Plant Protection Advisor, over the years have been involved in regulating UCIL's operations. If the Bhopal plant was badly designed and run with inadequate safeguards, surely they must bear part of the blame.

Carbide alleges — and mounting evi-

terviewing employees or scanning court records for many months. When litigation ensued and the company's hands were untied, it soon found log books of the fatal night that had been tampered with and an eyewitness prepared to testify. Sabotage, of course, would make quite a difference. It would transform the case into a relatively mundane, if tragic, industrial dispute, something on the order of that hotel fire in Puerto Rico. And in any civilized country in the world, it would lift the threat of corporate liability.

That's why, for political purposes, the

effect, stands justice on its head. As Calvert Crary, who monitors litigation for Bear, Stearns, has aptly remarked: "It seems to us that the 'Alice in Wonderland' premise of 'verdict first, trial after' represented by the order is so contrary to the fundamental tenets of law in a civilized society as to be unacceptable to any normal judicial conscience." Or as another character in "Through the Looking Glass" was fond of saying, "Off with their heads."

* * *

If so, the long-suffering people of India are apt to suffer most. Thus, the

"Carbide alleges —and mounting evidence suggests— that Bhopal was no accident; it was probably sabotage. The first hint to this effect came in the report of an investigating team published in March 1985, a few months after the tragedy."

dence suggests — that Bhopal was no accident; it was probably sabotage. The first hint to this effect came in the report of an investigating team published in March 1985, a few months after the tragedy. It noted the inexplicable presence in a tank of chemicals of a "large amount of water — 100 to 200 gallons," which, so experts agree, triggered the deadly release of gas. At first attributed to the washing of a filter hundreds of feet away, the presence of so much water in a controlled environment where it had no business being points to something more sinister.

Nor have the subsequent actions of the Indian government laid such suspicions to rest. On the contrary, upon issuance of the report, the authorities barred Carbide of India from either in-

government has been pushing its peculiar legal doctrines, including one that might be called unlimited liability. Through its counsel, New Delhi argues that "because defendant designed, constructed, owned, operated, managed and controlled the Bhopal plant . . . it is responsible, under the theories of liability alleged in the complaint for the damage caused as the consequence of a foreseeable runaway reaction in a storage tank. The law provides and the defendant has already admitted that sabotage was a foreseeable event."

Since then, of course, the stakes have escalated. Carbide executives have been charged with murder, a move which, even if made for shock effect, has the ugliest implications. And Judge Deo has blandly handed down a ruling which, in

latest spate of legal maneuvering — inspired, it is said, less by the hapless victims than by left-wing political pressure groups and special interests — will delay still further any possibility of settlement; Carbide, after all, has legal recourse to other courts in India as well as the U.S. And it will deal a heavy blow to an economy plagued not only by the vagaries of Mother Nature — India is gripped by one of the worst droughts in its history — but also by man-made government mismanagement and venality. Multinational projects by the score are said to be on hold, pending resolution of the dispute, and — so the knowledgeable S.J. Rundt & Associates report — the investment climate is worsening. When Atlas shrugs . . .

— Robert M. Bleiberg

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESS, SINCE THE REPUBLIC'S BEGINNING, HAVE WAGED A COLD WAR OF HOT WORDS

GEORGE WASHINGTON (1789-97)

"If you read the *Aurora* of this City, or those Gazettes which are under the same influence, you cannot but have perceived with what malignant industry, and persevering falsehoods I am assailed, in order to weaken, if not destroy, the confidence of the Public." Jan. 12, 1797.

"[Washington had] violated the Constitution and made a treaty with a nation abhorred by our people; that he answered the respectful remonstrances of Boston and New York as if he were the omnipotent director of a seraglio, and had thundered contempt upon the people with as much confidence as if he had sat upon the throne of Industan." *Aurora*.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (1801-09)

"The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer the truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors." June 11, 1807.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1825-29)

"[Editors] are a sort of assassins who sit with loaded blunderbusses at the corner of streets and fire them off for hire or for sport at any passenger whom they select." Sept. 7, 1820.

JOHN TYLER (1841-45)

"If a God-directed thunderbolt were to strike and annihilate the traitor, all would say that 'Heaven is just.'" Lexington (Kentucky) *Intelligencer*, Nov. 18, 1841.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1861-65)

"With customary newspaper exaggeration of army news we may be sure that in tomorrow's prints . . . all the little Colt's revolvers will have grown into horse-pistols." 1862.

ANDREW JOHNSON (1865-69)

". . . slander upon slander . . . vituperation upon vituperation of the most virulent character, has made its way through the press." August 1866.

"[President Johnson will be] indignantly remembered as the first, and we trust the last, of our chief magistrates who believed in the brutality of the people and gave to the White

House the ill-savor of the corner-grocery." *North American Review*, October 1866.

ULYSSES GRANT (1869-77)

". . . from my candidacy for my present office in 1868 to the close of the last Presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history." 1873.

"General Grant's first four years have been the feeblest and the most barren in our annals." (An opposition newspaper, 1873.)

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (1877-81)

From a March 27, 1878, commentary in the *Boston Post*: "Mr. Hayes will, in the absence of Mrs. Hayes, be acting President."

GROVER CLEVELAND (1885-89, 1893-97)

"The falsehoods daily spread before the people by our newspapers . . . are insults to the American love of decency and fair play of which we boast." Dec. 12, 1885.

"[President Cleveland will] go out under a greater burden of popular contempt than has ever been excited by a public man since the foundation of government." *Atlanta Constitution*, March 4, 1897.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY (1897-1901)

"If bad institutions and bad men can be got rid of only by killing, then the killing must be done." The *New York Journal* ran this editorial on April 10, 1901, and was blamed by some for McKinley's assassination five months later.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT (1901-09)

"The more I see of the Czar, the Kaiser, and the Mikado, the better I am content with democracy, even if we have to include the American newspapers as one of its assets—liabilities would be a better term." June 6, 1905.

"To the best of the world's knowledge and belief, each and all of the statements made by Mr. Roosevelt are untrue and Mr. Roosevelt must have known they were untrue when he made them . . . Who Got the Money?" *New York World*, Dec. 8, 1908.



THE GRANGER COLLECTION

WOODROW WILSON (1913-21)

"I am so accustomed to having everything reported erroneously that I have almost come to the point of believing nothing that I see in the newspapers." March 28, 1914.

"No President in our history ever made a greater mistake than Mr. Wilson . . . it will hereafter awaken a revolt unknown in this country since our last King lost his American colonies . . ." *New York Tribune*, 1917.

WARREN G. HARDING (1921-23)

"[I] have sometimes been appalled at the inaccuracy of statement, and if I were going to give a lecture on journalism my theme would be 'a little less eagerness and much more of accuracy.' " April 28, 1923.

CALVIN COOLIDGE (1923-29)

"In the effort of the press to destroy vice, it ought not to neglect virtue . . ." February 1928.

". . . probably the man of smallest



Reporters deplored Theodore Roosevelt's rabble-rousing antics in the 1912 campaign.

cessor appears to have done. And his bristling sensitiveness to critical analysis has not been exceeded by any previous occupant of the White House." Arthur Krock, *Fortune*, March 1963.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON (1963-69)

"There were the columnists. They turned against me on Vietnam because it was in their self-interest to do so, because they knew that no one receives a Pulitzer Prize these days by simply supporting the President and the Administration . . . The Washington press are like a wolf pack when it comes to attacking public officials . . ." *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*, by Doris Kearns.

RICHARD NIXON (1969-74)

"I have never heard or seen such outrageous, vicious, distorted reporting in 27 years of public life . . . Don't get the impression that you [the press] arouse my anger . . . You see, one can only be angry with those he respects." *New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1973.

"[Nixon] did more for the press than any President in recent history. He made folk heroes out of reporters. He made some newspapers household words. And he provided more copy, more headlines, more magazine covers and more television footage than any man since World War II." Ben Bradlee and Howard Simons of the *Washington Post*.

JIMMY CARTER (1977-81)

"Everyone agreed that the news media were superficial in their treatment of national and international events . . . However, they reminded me that I could not win a war with the press, and advised me to stop having so many news conferences." *Keeping Faith*.

RONALD REAGAN (1981-)

"I'm being portrayed as having, behind the scenes, violated the law and done all sorts of shady things to try and violate the Congress restriction on aid to the freedom fighters. And it just isn't true." May 1987.

"To hear him speak extemporaneously on domestic policy is to hold your breath in nervous anticipation of the unknown." David Broder, quoted in *Make-Believe*, Laurence Leamer. □

calibre who has ever been made President of the United States." *New York Call*.

HERBERT HOOVER (1929-33)

"I have found in all the representatives of the press at all times a desire to be helpful in most unexpected ways. For instance, they daily assist me beyond my greatest hopes by their suspicious research work in new implications for my most carefully formulated phrases." April 13, 1929.

"Such is the nature of this humorless and resentful man that he must know the worst that is said of him . . . and must, if possible, punish the responsible author." *Nation*, Oct. 14, 1931.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (1933-45)

"There is a growing tendency on the part of the public not to believe what they read in a certain type of newspaper. I think it is not the editorial end, because, as you know, very few people read the editorials . . ." Dec. 27, 1935.

HARRY S. TRUMAN (1945-53)

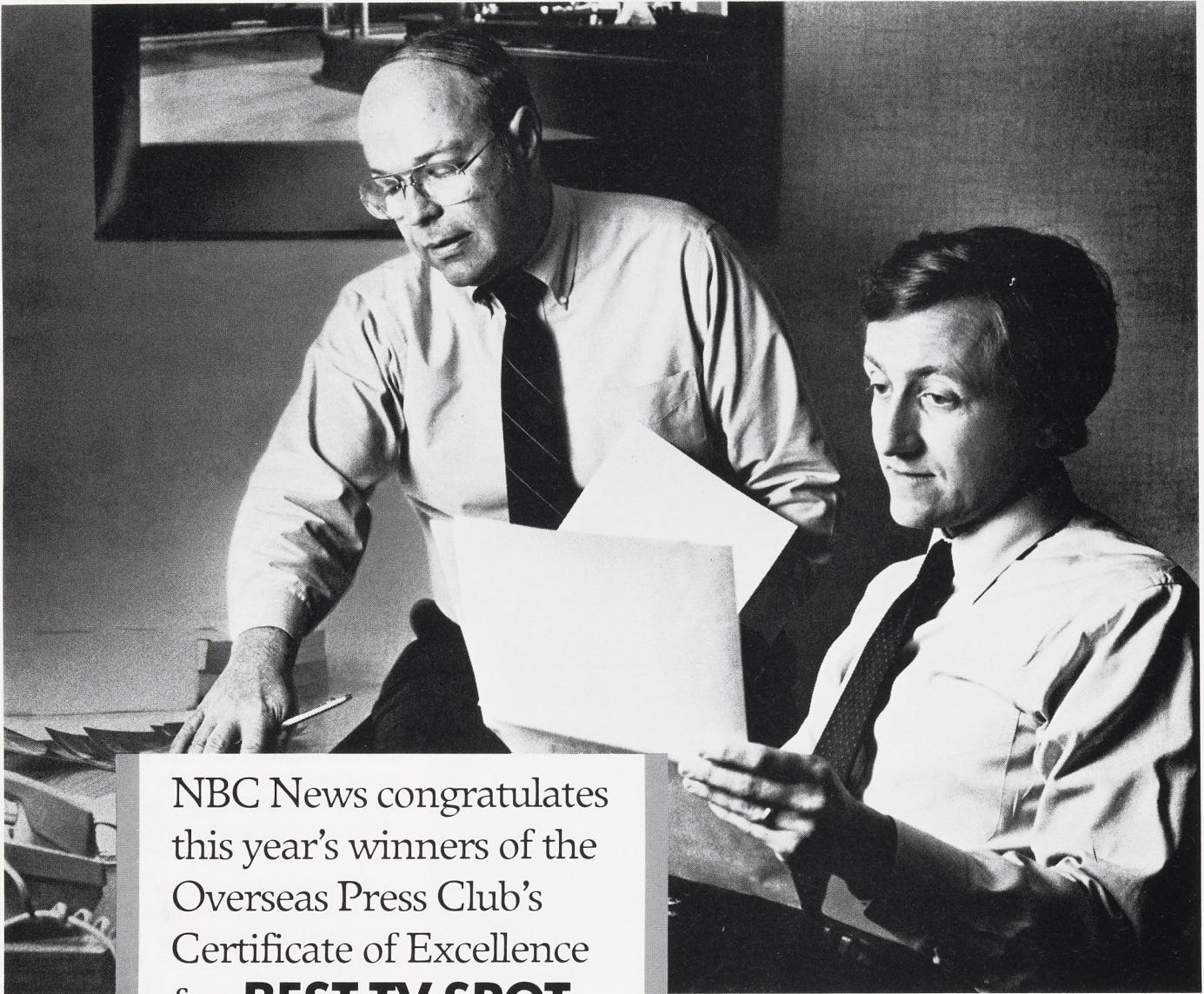
"I have appointed a secretary of columnists. His duties are to listen to all radio commentators, read all columnists in the newspapers . . . coordinate them and give me the results so I can run the United States and the world as it should be. I have several men in reserve beside the present holder of the job, because I think in a week or two the present secretary for columnists will need the services of a psychiatrist and will in all probability end up in [the mental hospital in Washington]." *Harry S. Truman*, by Margaret Daniels.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER (1953-61)

"I . . . will die for the freedom of the press, even for the freedom of newspapers that call me everything that is a good deal less than . . . a gentleman." Aug. 14, 1945.

JOHN F. KENNEDY (1961-63)

"President Kennedy reads more newspapers regularly than any prede-



NBC News congratulates this year's winners of the Overseas Press Club's Certificate of Excellence for **BEST TV SPOT NEWS REPORTING FROM ABROAD:**

Reporter Brian Ross, Producer Ira Silverman and Executive Producer William Wheatley, Jr. for Brian Ross' international drug investigations, as reported on NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw.

*Silverman (left) and Ross,
NBC News' investigative team*

NBC NEWS

A FEW PARTING THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT AT HAND FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE OPC

by Herbert Kupferberg

In one of his aphorisms following his visit to the United States in 1882, Oscar Wilde commented, "In America, the President reigns for four years and Journalism governs forever and ever."

That, of course, was a slight exaggeration, but Oscar was perceptive enough to observe that the press played a considerable role in determining public opinion and influencing political events. And if that was true back in the 1880s, how much more so it is in the modern electronics era. Today candidates of both parties debate on television; the entire nation tunes in to Irangate; and a Vice-President and an anchorman nearly come to blows in everybody's living room.

Journalism, in short, is inextricably bound up with politics and, as the power of the Presidency has grown, so has the power of the press. American politics, moreover, are no longer a purely American affair. What happens here vitally affects the rest of the world—as the rest of the world well knows.

So the Overseas Press Club in this election year gladly turns its attention toward what used to be known as "domestic" affairs. This issue of *Dateline*, produced for the Club by the editors of *People* magazine, offers, we feel, some of the best commentary and analysis to be found anywhere about the American political process and the vital role played in it by television, newspapers, magazines and other media.

Underlying many of the articles are the concern and responsibility we in the news business and its ancillary fields feel for doing our jobs conscientiously, informatively and fairly. Never was genuine enlightenment about political issues and personalities more essential than it is today, and we hope that this 1988 edition of our magazine will make a significant contribution in that direction.

We are grateful not only to *People*



Outgoing OPC chief Kupferberg is a senior editor at *Parade* magazine.

for putting out the 1988 *Dateline* but to the advertisers who contribute to its success, to the publications, corporations and others who support our awards and to those of you who show your interest in our organization by your attendance at this annual dinner. Our members, 1,200 strong, appreciate your friendship and, should you wish to join our ranks, would be more than happy to welcome you among us.

Finally, a personal note: This year's Awards Dinner marks the conclusion of my two-year term as President of the Overseas Press Club. It has been an honor to lead this distinguished organization, and I thank its members for their loyalty and support. Our 50th-anniversary year lies just ahead; may it usher in another half century of achievement and of service to the entire journalistic community. □

DESPITE THE MEDIA'S SHORTCOMINGS, SAYS THE PRESIDENT, THEIR SCRUTINY HELPS KEEP DEMOCRACY WHOLE

by Ronald Reagan



DIANA WALKER/TIME

The President dons a gift trooper's hat after speaking to the National Law Enforcement Council in Washington, D.C., last year.

As a young man growing up in the Midwest, I remember the days of whistle-stops, classic stump oratory and radio reports of political campaigns. If my neighbors in Dixon, Ill., saw a national candidate once in an election year, it was considered a near miracle.

Today's voters get to know presidential candidates even if they never have the opportunity to see them in person. Nightly news programs, Sunday talk shows, televised debates and local interviews give us the chance to see more and learn more about those who run for the nation's highest office than any generation before us.

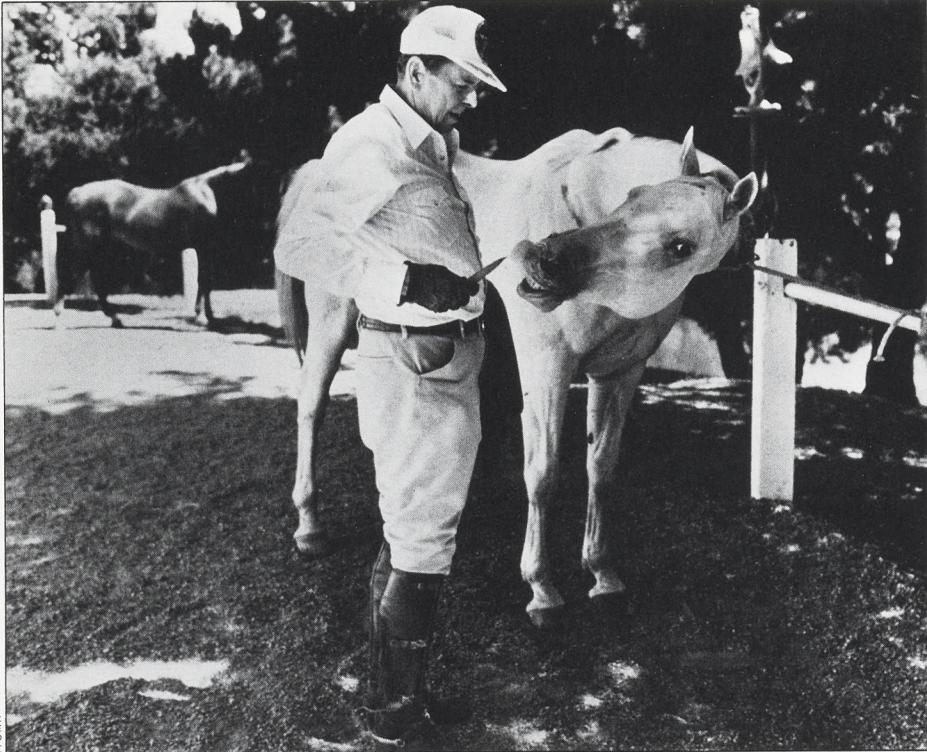
Television campaign coverage, once almost exclusively the province of a few veteran political reporters, is now a staple on hundreds of local sta-

tions across the country. Newspapers and magazines have improved their technology to keep pace with television and continue to play a critical role in campaign coverage. They print the longer stories that give depth to campaign news and offer the analysis that adds perspective. We rely on newspapers to carry the texts of major speeches and campaign platforms and promises. And though they don't always succeed, most newspapers still try hard to keep news on the news pages and opinion on the opinion pages.

I believe a living room is as good a place as anywhere to judge the fitness of a presidential candidate, and television has enhanced the democratic process by bringing it into our

homes. Some have said that television has undermined the political process. On the contrary, I sometimes wonder where our modern democracy would be without it. Because this country is so large and national elections are such enormous events, only television can establish a one-to-one communication between candidate and citizen.

The American people need to observe and listen to candidates many times, in many different situations. That is the best way to understand their characters, feel confident that they are individuals of integrity and grasp their positions on the important issues of our day. Then viewers become well-informed voters, and that is what an open



CIGMA

democratic society is all about.

Reporters naturally give more attention to the candidate who appears most likely to win, and the brightest lights are thrown on the front-runners

in each party. But no candidate, and no voter, should take seriously the so-called horse-race coverage the media love so well. By that I mean the reliance on polls and instantaneous

Reagan shows carrots, as well as sticks, can win the political "horse race."

analysis about who is winning or losing or what the impact of one specific straw poll will be on the whole campaign when, in fact, no one really knows. This can be both misleading to the public and damaging to the candidate. I recall, for example, that after I fared poorly in the 1980 Iowa Republican caucuses, one veteran network TV correspondent made the snap judgment that my political career was over. That was two Inaugural addresses ago.

I have been the subject of intense media scrutiny in every campaign in which I participated. I have not always agreed with everything that has been reported, but on the whole the scrutiny probably helped me and turned out to be good for the country and good for the democratic process.

Anyone who hopes to occupy the Oval Office must withstand intense scrutiny. That's the way it should be. Americans have high standards, and those who seek public service are asking the people to grant them something of great value: their trust. □



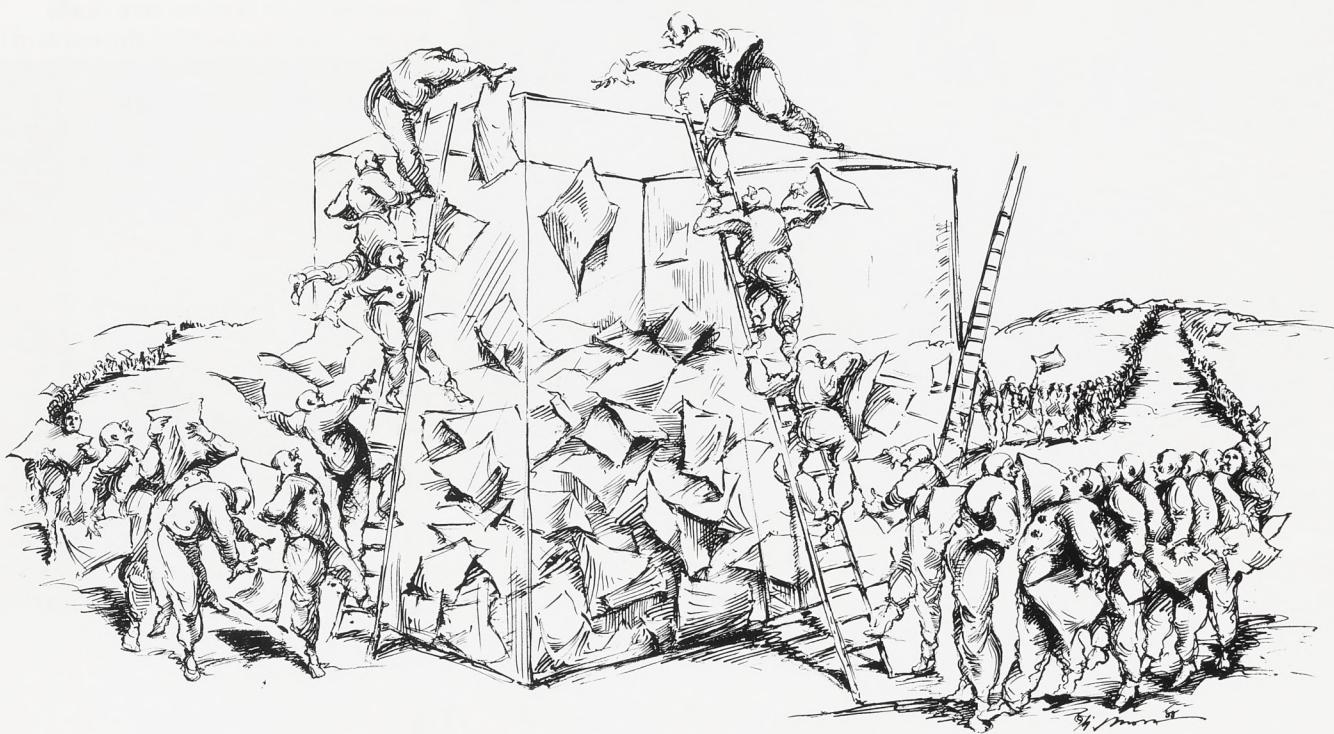
In this election year...

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WE'RE HOPING TO STUFF THE BALLOT BOX

analyzed the race through its early stages. Provided broad, searching profiles of every major candidate. And clearly sorted the complex issues that separate the parties and their platforms.

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Los Angeles Times



NANCY J. PIERCE

Barber (in his Durham, N.C., study) laments "the deterioration of political discourse."

A STUDENT OF PRESIDENTIAL CHARACTER SAYS THE PRESS COULD BE THE HOPE—OR DESPAIR—OF THE WORLD

by James David Barber

The press does not pick the President—voters still do. But the press decides which ambitious or draftable persons are worth public attention. And what that attention ought to focus on. And when. All that power, once on the shoulders of party politicians, has now dropped into the lap of the press and is rapidly scooting over to part of the press: television. For better or for worse, the nation's future is being profoundly shaped by publishers, producers, editors and reporters. On balance, worse is more likely.

For the challenge to the government of the United States has soared out far beyond what it was in the days of Coolidge and Hoover—or even Truman and Eisenhower. The economic playing field we used to dominate is now dotted with equals, even superiors. Nuclear weapons quietly proliferate. Terrorism, drug and gun traffic, refugee floods, international disease and many more threats demonstrate what it means to live on

the corner of interdependency and anarchy. Forty some years have gone by with the institutionalization of peace standing still while the threat of mass disaster races forward.

The President of the United States is the key actor. He may not be able to rescue us, but he can kill us all. If ever we needed sanity at the top, now is it. Can journalism make that happen?

Could be. Journalism's calling is to make reality interesting. Journalists always experience the temptation to go theatrical, to excite an audience rather than inform an electorate. Television, child of the movies, leads that seduction. In presidential politics, that translates into a focus on how the candidate looks (Lincoln was ugly), how he sounds (Harding sounded swell), and the great big hopes he advertises—such as Lyndon Johnson's devotion to peace—and the reality is sitting there, waiting to stand up and be counted from two angles. One is the man's rec-

ord, his experience, what his life so far shows he is up to. Call it biography, probably the one type of story Americans like best. The other is perception: Does this fellow live in the real world or in the Land of Oz? Does he know—in rough, causative terms—what has been going on in national and international politics? Does he know Washington—not only where it is, but how it works? If not, send him back to school.

The big hope is that journalism—including the television flock—will use its best talent to electrify presidential realities for a citizenry close to nodding off into dreamland politics. Because there are politicians who keep humming the lullabies and sparking up illusion. One of them was Hitler. □

James David Barber is James B. Duke Professor, Department of Political Science, at Duke University and author of *The Presidential Character*.



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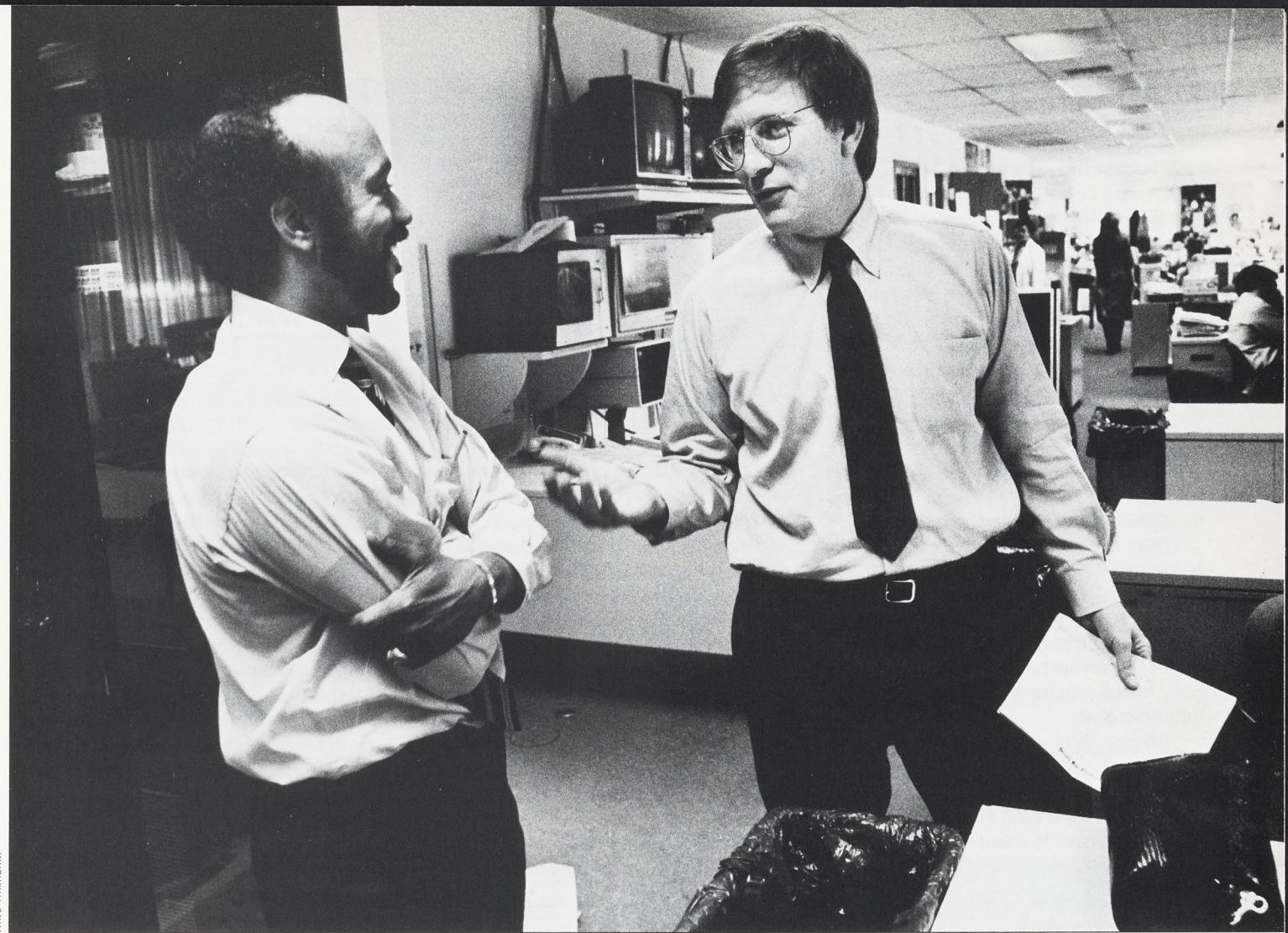
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TARO YAMASAKI

Meriwether (right) confers with Free Press city editor James Crutchfield.

A CANDID POSTMORTEM ON THE HART-RICE STORY FROM THE EDITOR WHO TOOK THE HEAT

by Heath Meriwether

They were questions, as Gary Hart noted, that would make Nathaniel Hawthorne wince.

I winced, too, when I saw reporters in a nationally televised press conference asking Gary Hart whether he'd ever committed adultery. I winced again four months later when Ted Koppel asked Gary Hart whether he'd ever been unfaithful to his wife in their 28 years of marriage.

Most of us didn't get into this business to ask these sorts of questions. I don't believe a candidate's private life is relevant unless it reflects on his or her ability to carry out the office. But honesty, judgment and integrity—the character issues—are things I consider important, and so do the voters.

For Gary Hart, finally, the Donna Rice story became a test of his truthfulness, his judgment, his character.

For journalists, the story raised the question of where we will draw the line in exposing a candidate's personal life. If that line isn't defined, some journalists fear we'll be awash in a sea of ethical anarchy.

Writing in the *New Republic* last May, the columnist TRB suggested a fairly simple test for such stories: "Is this something that you believe a significant fraction of your audience will find politically relevant? Not just interesting (we all love gossip): Will it affect how people vote? If so, go with it. Who are you to say it's none of their business?"

I worry, as most of you would, about

what is "politically relevant."

But the Gary Hart story qualified by every criterion I would use. He felt so bedeviled by the "character" issue that he felt compelled to challenge reporters: "Follow me around; you'll be bored."

That's not why the *Miami Herald* did the story. The newspaper got an authoritative tip and checked it out. But Hart's challenge to reporters underscored how the issue had become central in his campaign.

I don't believe, as some have suggested, that the Hart story ushered in a new era of reporting about politicians' private lives. I was troubled, following the Douglas Ginsburg revelations, when candidates felt compelled to tell

The *Miami Herald* headlines that broke the Hart scandal and ignited a controversy.

us whether they'd smoked marijuana or not. But common sense generally has prevailed.

I don't believe the Hart story illustrates a media penchant for the sensational over the substantive. Yes, we have a responsibility to report on the candidates' stands on nuclear disarmament. But whether candidates like it or not, the voters care more about character than the candidates' position on missile throw weights. Issues change; so do the candidates' positions on the issues. Character is a constant.

What other lessons have I drawn from the Hart story?

If you do these stories, you take on a huge responsibility to be fair and accurate. The entire Hart episode reminds me of the remarkable repercussions our stories can have, the capacity for inflicting pain.

The *Herald* has been faulted for making mistakes in the Hart story. That is fair. Our observations weren't air-tight and our wording should have been more precise. But we immediately told our readers about our mistakes.

The Miami Herald

454 PAGES SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1987 75 CENTS

Miami woman is linked to Hart

Candidate denies any impropriety

By JIM McGEE and TOM FIEDLER
Miami Herald

WASHINGTON — Gary Hart, the Democratic presidential candidate who has dismissed allegations of wrongdoing, has been staying at night with a young woman who flew from Miami and met him. Hart denied he was staying with her.

Hart, 50, was confronted late Saturday evening by Miami Herald reporters who had determined the movement of the senator from his home to the unidentified woman from the time she left Miami on Friday afternoon aboard Eastern Airlines Flight 996. The reporters asked Hart if he understood that the woman had joined Hart in Washington at his invitation although she had known him only a few weeks.

Indiana Hart refused to say if the woman was still in his townhouse.

"No one was staying in my apartment," he said. "I have no personal relationship with the individual you are referring to."

Hart described the woman as "a friend of a friend of mine." He said she was an "acquaintance" who had come to Washington to visit a friend of hers own, not to spend the weekend with him.

Two hours after the interview, a friend of Hart's, William Broadhurst, told the Herald that he had learned the woman was a guest at his house and was accompanied by a second woman who was being interviewed by reporters.

Broadhurst said the situation was "innocent."

Hart's explanation was not consistent with the events witnessed by a team of Herald reporters who conducted surveillance of the townhouse from the time the woman arrived in Washington from Miami until the time of the interview.

Hart confirmed that the woman had visited with him on Friday night and again on Saturday night, the time of the interview Saturday night. But he said he did not spend the night alone with her.

"I have no relationship with the woman," he said.

He said, however, he had telephoned the woman on Saturday morning and asked her to come to the country. He was also observed escorting her on three separate occasions by Herald reporters Friday and Saturday, at one point with arms linked.

A Herald reporter flew to Washington on the same flight as the woman.

Please turn to HART / 14A

Other, wise people in the profession felt we should have waited 24 hours before we printed our first story.

I answered Ted Koppel's questions on *Nightline*, and I felt the sting when Abe Rosenthal said I looked a little sweaty and nervous on TV: The experience reminded me again how it feels when you're the one being grilled.

I also read a good deal of sanctimoniousness from my colleagues in the press. Some seemed to suggest that the *Herald* was doing something sleazy in assigning reporters to stake out a candidate's home.

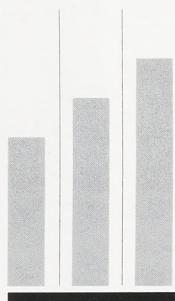
As a journalist and a judge of many journalism contests, I've seen dozens

of stories using stakeout techniques. There are some stories you really can't get any other way. You could print rumors, as many did about Hart, or you could check them out.

Ultimately, as Gary Hart suggested in re-entering the presidential race last December, the people will decide, both about the candidates and the journalists who report on them.

I'm comfortable with that. That's the way the system is supposed to work. □

Heath Meriwether was executive editor of the Miami Herald when it broke the Gary Hart/Donna Rice story and is now executive editor of the Detroit Free Press.



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A VETERAN WASHINGTON REPORTER ADVISES POLITICIANS TO JUST SAY "NO" WHEN THE PRESS INVADES PRIVACY

by Jack Nelson

Long before Gary Hart met Donna Rice and Judge Douglas Ginsburg withdrew as a Supreme Court nominee after admitting having smoked marijuana when he was a law school professor, the press worried a lot about its image and the public's perception of how it was doing its job.

But the Hart and Ginsburg cases touched off a new round of soul-searching among journalists about whether the press has been going too far in reporting on the private lives of political figures. Regardless of such concerns, it appears that those cases have opened the floodgates as far as coverage of the private lives of presidential candidates and Supreme Court nominees is concerned. Not everything goes now, but almost everything.

If there is a line to be drawn anywhere, among journalists there is great disagreement about where to draw it. A Washington newspaper and two national newsmagazines even printed a rumor—which they labeled unsubstantiated—that Vice-President George Bush had an affair with a member of his staff.

Every major news bureau in Washington checked out the rumor, but most decided it would be unfair to print it even if it was labeled unsubstantiated. Editors who decided to print it no doubt agonized over their decision but decided it had provoked so much talk on the presidential campaign trail it was legitimate news. They can make that case, but I think they're wrong.

What this demonstrates is that the press is not monolithic as some people seem to think, that it agonizes over ethics and sometimes has widely divergent opinions about what's right and what's wrong, and that it cares about credibility and deplores unethical practices in its own ranks—when it can agree on what is unethical.

But if a line is to be drawn on reporting on the private lives of political figures, I agree with Sen. Bill Bradley. He says it's up to the politician to draw the line and refuse to cooperate when a press inquiry is considered unfair or inappropriate.

A *Life* magazine writer interviewing Bradley cited a line from his book—*Life on the Run*, concerning the life of professional basketball players—that mentioned, "If a man spends enough nights in hotels, he will meet a woman with whom for that night he will share a bed, giving each a brief escape from boredom and loneliness."

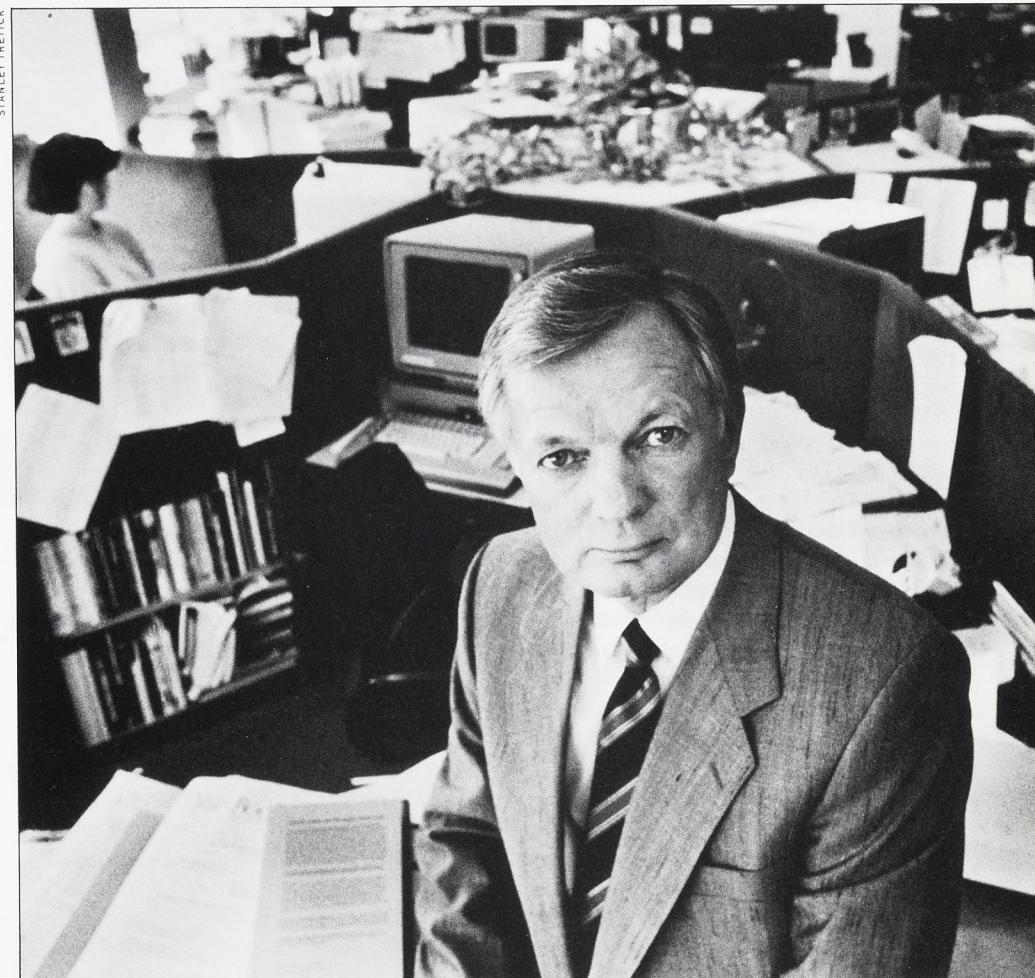
In citing that passage, the interviewer suggested that the press had not been so tolerant covering politicians. Bradley replied that politicians can do nothing "to prevent the press from searching anyplace for its story," that "a politician has got to be willing to draw a line. That's the only thing the politician can do. He can't do it for the press, he can only do it for himself."

Bradley believes that defining where

to draw a line as a general rule would not serve the best purpose and that there can be no hard-and-fast rule, the politician has to sense when to draw the line.

Nor can there be any hard-and-fast rules applied as the press struggles with the question of how far it should go in digging into the private behavior of a political figure. And when the credibility or character of either a presidential candidate or Supreme Court nominee becomes an issue, drawing a line of any kind may be impossible. □

Jack Nelson is the Los Angeles Times Washington bureau chief.



Nelson, in the L.A. Times Washington bureau newsroom.

BACK FROM THE EYE OF A MEDIA HURRICANE, 'THE WOMAN IN QUESTION' WRITES ABOUT THE PERILS OF THE PRESS

by Donna Rice

In the spring of 1987 my life changed, possibly forever. I accept the responsibility for my choices in life. What follows is not a justification for those choices, but my observations as one caught in a powerful cross fire of the press, politics and public opinion.

Prior to the breaking of the *Miami Herald* story, I was successful yet anonymous. Imagine, if you will, going overnight from anonymity to finding your name and face in the headlines of nearly every publication and television newscast in the country. Without confirmation, consideration or consent, my name and personal details of my life were released to and by the press. Unwilling, vulnerable and unprepared, I was urged to hold a press conference. The damage was done, yet it had just begun.

Generally, one comes to notoriety slowly—over years—and has time to learn the nuances of dealing with the pressures and problems of media and public awareness. Not so in my case. I found it difficult to get sound advice and to discern whom I could trust. Often those who came running to my “rescue” saw their own opportunity for fame and fortune. I felt like a piece of chum tossed as bait into shark-infested waters.

It was impossible to resume my normal life, and I retreated into seclusion. Silence seemed to be my only alternative since I chose not to exploit the situation. The financial reward offered if I were willing to become a voluntary pawn in this high-stakes chess game was in the millions. Self-restraint took on new meaning. My silence was the result of shock, a natural discretion that led me to salvage whatever shreds of privacy I could and a sense of responsibility that I should not impede the political process.

The media blitz transpired without my cooperation. As an armchair viewer, I watched with frustration as a small percentage of my experience was extrapolated out of the context of my life, slanted and splashed in sensational technicolor around the world. I have often wondered if I had made myself

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"The media have a duty to exercise compassion and restraint," says Rice.

available to the press if I could have prevented the innuendo and misinformation that continued to appear. At the time it didn't seem possible, given the delicacy of the matter and the media's rush for deadlines and headlines.

My personal contact with the press has been limited. I granted one interview to *Life* magazine and two interviews to Barbara Walters. In these instances, the journalists displayed compassion and worked diligently to present a complete, well-rounded story. My other attempts to cooperate

with the media were not as pleasant. In one instance, I supplied a list of character references consisting of prominent physicians who were clients, college professors and friends of at least 10 years. The first and only reporter to receive the list personally offended each individual she interviewed and wrote a twisted article that caused untold anguish to my family, my friends and myself.

In my opinion, journalistic gossip often took the place of responsible, evenhanded reporting. In one particu-

larly outrageous case, I threatened legal action and got a quick retraction ending with the words, "The Article referred to as a source for these statements does not in fact contain them. I wish therefore to retract those characterizations and to apologize to Ms. Rice." Of course, the damage was already done. The final straw came after two major articles, rife with inaccuracies, were written from "off the record" conversations. I finally understood that such promises were contingent on a journalist's personal integrity and self-restraint. I withdrew further into my shell.

Between December and the Iowa caucus in early February, the media's interest in "my story" peaked again. In reality, the interest has always been in "the story," thus potentially reducing my life to a weekend boat trip. I continued to feel that I was being summoned as an eyewitness to offer testimony in order to create news and interfere with the political process. In a couple of instances, I was told that I could name my price. I chose not to play ball.

As I began to understand the business aspect of the media, the volatile political environment, the ever com-

mon double standard and the fact that many publications used unauthorized pictures and stories merchandised by aggressive opportunists, I realized I was in a no-win situation. Given the provocative nature of the story, the angle that sold fed straight into the soap-opera syndrome prevalent in American thinking.

With regard to the political sensitivity of the situation, it is understandable that, for the opposition, anything reflecting discredit on Donna Rice further emphasized the former presidential candidate's poor judgment. For his supporters, I was "the woman in question," the source of the problem. Either way, my credibility didn't stand much of a chance. My fate was sealed when I was cast as a "Bimbo" and "Temptress." Thus, instead of being presented as Donna Rice, Phi Beta Kappa, pharmaceutical representative, professionally acknowledged commercial actress with a pleasant photograph, I was stereotyped as Donna Rice, part-time model/party girl amid a flurry of alluring swimsuit photos.

As one who was the target of negative reporting and comment, I think I have an unusual, though unfortunately not unique, vantage point. I am dis-

turbed by what I see. It is clear to me that in my case, the media often crossed the line between responsible journalism and sensationalism.

I believe in a free press. I believe the public has a broad right to know. But I also believe the media have a measure of responsibility to use their freedom with care. The press has extraordinary power to shape public opinion. When that power is used carelessly, as it was in my case, public opinion can shatter private lives.

I'm not arguing for increased censorship. I am arguing that the media have a duty to exercise compassion and restraint, to err on the side of decency and honesty, even at the expense of a good story or a great laugh line. As I see it, those of you who are a credit to your profession are those who effectively and truthfully communicate information—while upholding human dignity. There is no way to mandate that kind of behavior. The responsibility lies with each of you. □

Donna Rice divides her time between Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. She says she is quietly moving forward with her life and her career.

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A SKEPTICAL PUBLIC, NOT THE PRESS, HAS MADE CHARACTER THE ISSUE, ARGUES A JOURNALISM PROFESSOR

by George E. Reedy

I have never ceased to marvel at the power which the public—in the face of evidence to the contrary—ascribes to the press. This year the belief in journalistic omnipotence has taken a new form. It has become almost a matter of dogma that journalists, by their “new” focus on private lives of the candidates, have changed the election process. There is a whole school of critical thought that holds we are no longer looking at substantive issues but peeking through bedroom keyholes.

In reality, private lives have played a large role in campaign coverage. But to label this as new is to display an ignorance of journalistic history. And to assume that the coverage results from a decision made by some authoritative press committee is to close one's eyes to the realities of our social communications system. The press this year—as it has in every campaign year—is covering the issues that loom largest. In 1988, those issues center around questions of character.

This should have been easily predictable. Part of it stems from a widespread perception that all of our Presidents since Kennedy have left office as failures. Lyndon Johnson did not solve the question of Vietnam; Richard Nixon was forced out by the Watergate scandal; Gerald Ford was labeled a bumbler; Jimmy Carter could not secure the release of our hostages in Iran; and now Ronald Reagan is a victim of Irangate. It is impossible to talk to large numbers of people without detecting a widespread belief that politicians are no longer any good at solving problems. That leaves only one basis upon which to make a choice—the kind of role model that a top leader can play in our society.

There is another factor, however, of even greater force. It is that our society is going through one of the greatest transitions in its history. We are experiencing the women's movement, the gay liberation movement, the impact of the computer on the way we live, the flight of our manufacturing facilities to overseas areas. I am not debating whether these things should or should not be. They are probably inevitable developments in the growth of



Reedy contends the press is only giving the people what they want.

technology and the nation. But in an era of such rapid change, it is not possible to form the coherent consensus that makes issue politics predominant. This leaves people with little to look for other than the signs that indicate that men and women can be trusted. Those signs center around personality, and it is much harder to fake that than it is to contrive an “issue.”

This is not new. If you examine American history carefully, you will find there were similar periods from 1848 to 1860, in the last quarter of the 19th century and in the early '20s. Our politics reflect the state of our society, and our press ultimately reflects the state of our politics. It is not the press which has changed things; it is the continued development of society which has changed things. Journalists are human beings (despite the fact that no politician will believe that statement), and they react about the same way as

their fellow Americans. The only difference is that they may have a better grasp of facts because that is their business.

The reality is that the press has carried everything the candidates have said on the “issues.” Almost every newspaper in the country has described all the candidates' proposals, and some have even gone out of their way to print them side by side so that they can be compared. But the issues seem contrived, and the American people have yawned. They want to know who can be trusted, and the communications system in its personal reporting is merely feeding them what they want to know to make their choice. □

George E. Reedy is the Nieman Professor of Journalism at Marquette University and was press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson.



The American newspaper:

giving voice to the political debate

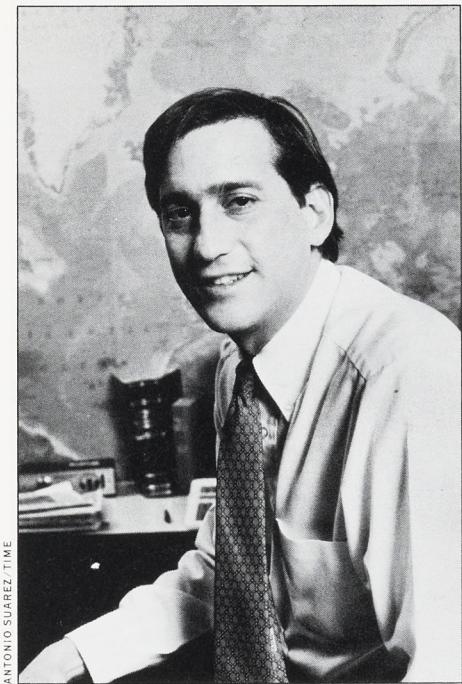
When Americans have big decisions to make, they turn to newspapers for information. A presidential election is a perfect example. By providing the ideal forum for political debate, newspapers help voters make one of the biggest decisions of their lives.

No other medium gives the American public daily, in-depth political commentary. No other medium relies less on sensationalism and more on fact. No other medium provides the sheer quantity of information voters need to choose their leaders.

Living up to the newspaper's potential is an ongoing challenge, but one which adds grist to our profession and forces us to be better journalists.

The Chicago Tribune salutes the newspaper journalists who will put the 1988 election year in focus!

Chicago Tribune



ANTONIO SUAREZ/TIME

Isaacson, a *Time* editor, shares the view of Gary Hart (with wife Lee) that editors should let the people decide.

When Gary Hart, the man responsible for igniting the latest debate over the press and privacy, plunged back into the 1988 race to conduct a brief second campaign, he inscribed upon his banner a powerful slogan: Let the People Decide. In an ironic way, far different from Hart's intention, the phrase is a good guide for the press. A lot of the current handwringing about invasion of privacy has produced declarations that the press should only report information that relates to whether a candidate would make a good President, then try to figure out what falls into this category. A better rule would be to let the people—the readers and voters—decide.

Any other course risks seeming elitist and showing contempt for the reader. For example, certain people may reasonably feel (and indeed many do) that they would be less inclined to support a presidential candidate who has cheated on his spouse or who has smoked marijuana. These are legitimate sentiments, whether or not we editors agree with them. A candidate who seeks the nation's highest office surrenders the right to have editors screen out facts that the voters might find pertinent in choosing among candidates.

In considering a story about a candidate's personal or private life, the editorial question involves the

WHAT'S PERTINENT IN A CANDIDATE'S PRIVATE LIFE? ONLY THE PUBLIC HAS THE RIGHT—AND THE VOTES—TO DECIDE

by Walter Isaacson



motive for publishing it. Is the story considered because it may convey information that a reader might find useful? Or is it being considered merely because it would titillate and fascinate the reader (and, yes, sell a few extra copies)? An editor ought to ask: Are we trying to sensationalize a story, or are we seriously trying to

inform our readers? Though sorting out our own motives can be tricky, it's a lot easier than trying to set standards for what a reader should or shouldn't be told. □

Walter Isaacson is Nation editor of *Time* magazine.

Circulation: 15 Million Loyal Readers, Viewers, Scrollers And Scanners.

How can business people keep up with the world of business, unless they know what business is up to all over the world?

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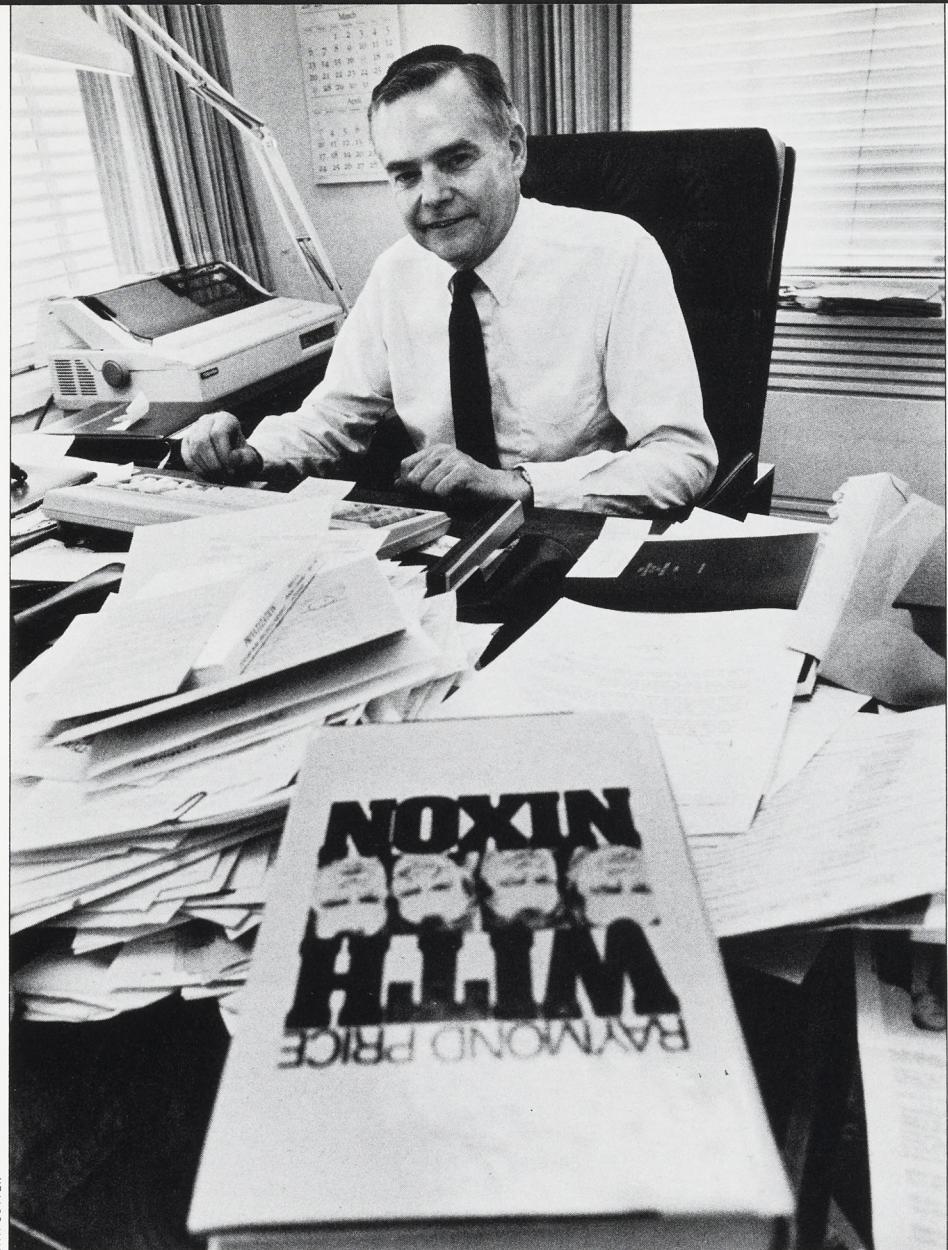
The information they uncover and interpret leads to the probing articles published in more than 120 magazines, newsletters and newswires from

McGraw-Hill. Or, readers can scroll and scan the news as it unfolds, with the on-line, real-time reports from McGraw-Hill News.

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Information that leads to action.





MIMI COTTER

Price closely observed a President of controversial character.

THE PRESIDENT WHO CANNOT TELL A LIE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO DO THE JOB, SAYS A FORMER NIXON SPEECHWRITER

by Ray Price

Unfortunately, both politics and journalism in America still suffer from the cherry-tree syndrome. Whoever dreamed up and popularized the myth about George Washington and his little hatchet may have inspired thousands of schoolchildren, but at a heavy cost in terms of our understanding of the Presidency.

Character, appropriately defined, is central to a successful Presidency. But the most effective President is not necessarily a person you'd want for a next-door neighbor or as leader of the local Boy Scout troop.

It would be an act of national folly to

entrust the Presidency to a person who "cannot tell a lie." A certain degree of measured dissembling is essential to statecraft. By the same token, a saint would be a disastrous President. The job descriptions are different.

In the reporting of this year's race, the "character issue" quickly became a form of journalistic shorthand for such phenomena as Gary Hart's amorous intentions and Joe Biden's rhetorical inventions. That confused and obscured the real character issue.

The measures of character that matter in the Presidency are utilitarian, not

moralistic. One of our corrosive national failings is an obsessive tendency to sentimentalize the Presidency, mixing up election day with Valentine's Day and treating it as a popularity contest.

We hire preachers to save our souls; we hire Presidents to protect and, if possible, advance the national interest. From the standpoint of the national interest, it doesn't matter a whit whether a President is faithful to his wife. But it does matter whether he has the steel to face down a determined adversary if need be. It does matter whether he has a sensitivity to, and respect for, those basic *public* values that are central to our national character. But when those values conflict with one another—as they do more often than not—he's also got to be able to make hard choices between them without dithering away the moment in fear of sacrificing one for another.

Character is not just sweetness and light. It's also courage, toughness, determination, selflessness, leadership. It's clarity of analysis, trenchancy of judgment, steadfastness of courage, firmness of resolve, shrewdness of maneuver, the careful assessment of risk and a cool readiness to take those risks that are indicated.

For a President, a crucial character trait is a certain transcendent instinct: to think automatically in world and national terms, not in personal terms; to place duty first; to subordinate his own wishes and emotions to the demands of statecraft, however harsh those demands may be.

We neither expect nor want the same qualities in the cop on the beat that we do in a priest. By the same token, we should stop asking would-be Presidents to be saintly, humble or generous. In an individual, generosity is a virtue, but the only things a President has to be generous with belong to other people. A President bowed in humility will be rolled by both Congress and the Kremlin. The softer a President's heart, the more firmly his heart has to be ruled by his head.

To be effective, a President has to be smart, tough and mean when necessary. He has to be sufficiently devious to stay one step ahead of a Mikhail Gorbachev. Character is important. But it's not the soft qualities of character he needs most. It's the hard ones. □

Ray Price, former chief speechwriter for Richard Nixon, is now president of the Economic Club of New York and a columnist for the New York Times Syndicate.



Representative Schroeder believes levity could bring more sanity to campaigns and better equip candidates for office.

WHY WOULD-BE PRESIDENTS NEED A SHARP SENSE OF HUMOR

by Patricia Schroeder

The Vice-President is asked a totally legitimate and hardly surprising question about his role in the Iran-contra scandal. He howls as if he'd just been mugged by a gang of hoodlums.

Another candidate is asked a question about his character, and he protests as if someone had taken the Lord's name in vain.

A Democratic Senator is asked why his budget proposals have a slight Republican smell. He reacts as if he'd just been targeted by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The cries of protest, outrage and shock emitting from presidential candidates—and their bellowing press agents—sound like tryouts for *The Perils of Pauline*.

What can be done to bring this unruly melodrama under control?

One approach, it seems to me, would be an Index of Forbidden Questions. The candidates would each be authorized to file with the Federal Election Commission a list of 10 questions they would rather not answer. The list would be posted in every newsroom in America, and any reporter uttering a forbidden question would be bastinadoed by the candidate's press agent in full view of an assembly of campaign contributors.

Everyone knows what would make the list: any question about Social Security, public wenching, Iran-contra meetings and flip-flop votes.

Only a handful of authorized questions would be left: Do you favor saving the Amazon rain forest? Do you have a plan to save the U.S. Olympic Committee? (Yes, a federal income tax check-off.) What is your favorite book? (There are three answers: the Bible, Carl Sandburg's biography of Abe Lincoln and grandma's recipe book.)

Reporters, of course, would do well to fight back with an Index of Forbidden Answers. The list would be posted on the inside of every primary state motel-room door, right next to the fire-exit diagram and the admonition about not walking off with the towels.

Banned from any further use is the

voters-aren't-interested answer, as in the following example: The presidential nomination race is down to the wire, and the candidate is asked: "Governor, your chief aide has just been caught with 500,000 counterfeit \$2 bills. This is his third arrest during your administration, do you think it will affect your standing in the polls?"

The voters-aren't-interested reply is required: "I don't know why you keep asking me about that. The voters aren't interested in counterfeit \$2 bills. They want to talk about the issues: deforestation in the Atacama Desert; support for the freedom fighters in the Atacama Desert; the plight of the rare James flamingo in the mountain lagoons high above the Atacama Desert."

The mock-outrage answer certainly would make the list. "That's an outrageous question. You have some nerve coming in here, eating my Cheez-Its, drinking my beer and asking me why I changed my position on raising farm subsidies two weeks before the Iowa caucuses. I simply don't have to answer that question, and I won't."

Finally, the candidate-fatigue answer: "I'm tired of answering that question." Candidates tire easily answering some questions—for example, "Senator, do you really have a mean streak?"—but are frisky and bright-eyed when asked to outline their 10-point plan to reindustrialize America.

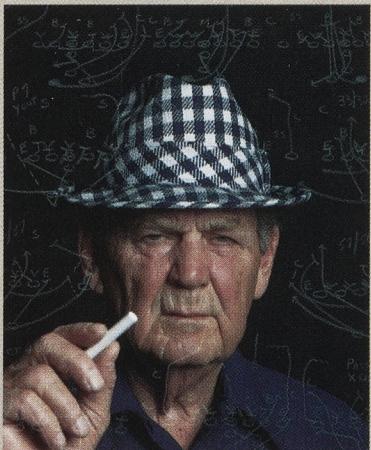
If I had my druthers, though, I would get all the candidates a sense of humor, but I'm not sure exactly how to do that. Most of the candidates are allergic to self-deprecation. Their idea of a good joke is when their opponent is arrested for horse theft. As for themselves, anything less than idolatry is about as welcome as unleashing Mort Sahl on the Queen Mother.

Humor is the ace in the hole of politics as John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan, two of the more popular Presidents in recent times, have demonstrated. But it goes beyond that. I am convinced that making light of oneself eventually sinks in and might eventually help the candidates get a better perspective on the world. Or so we will all hope. □

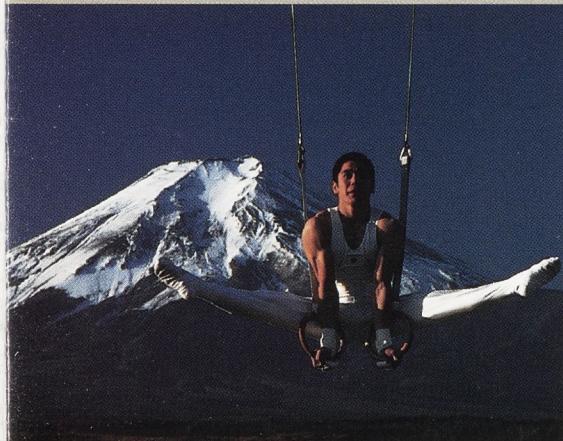
Patricia Schroeder, an eight-term Congresswoman, made a run for the Democratic nomination for President before bowing out last September.

PHOTO JOURNALIST'S
PHOTO JOURNALIST

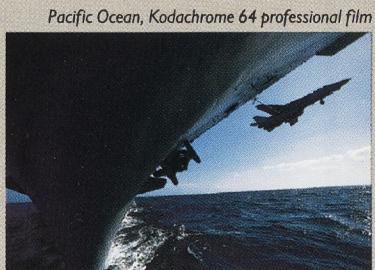
NEIL
LEIFER



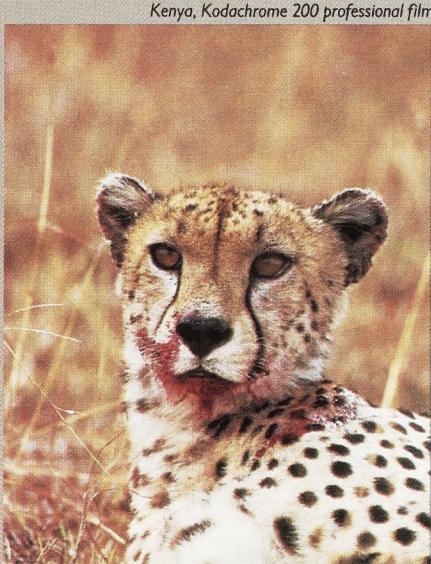
Alabama, Kodak Ektachrome 64 professional film



Japan, Kodachrome 64 professional film



Pacific Ocean, Kodachrome 64 professional film



Kenya, Kodachrome 200 professional film

"Most photojournalists get their enjoyment from taking wonderful pictures. So do I. But I get my biggest thrill out of seeing my work published.

"I'm not looking to build a beautiful portfolio to show people. I'm looking to get the cover of the magazine I'm shooting for. I've been working professionally for 27 years, and I still run out to the newsstand first thing in the morning to buy a copy of a magazine containing my pictures as soon as it's out.

"Kodak film has been wonderful for me, because it always looks great on the page.

"I've listened to discussions about the reds being better in this film, or this one being a little warmer and this one a little colder. All I know is that I go out and shoot Kodak film, and when it appears in print, it looks terrific.

"The consistency of Kodak film is more evident to me than it may be to others, because when I was shooting sports I probably shot more film in a year than most people do in a lifetime. And it's always right on. That gives me all the security I need."



D. NORTON

Kodak professional film.

Choice of the world's top photographers.



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AWARDS'87

BARBARA WALTERS



©GEOFFREY CROFT/OUTLINE PRESS

The President's Award of the Overseas Press Club traditionally is conferred upon an institution or an individual who has made an outstanding contribution to the advancement of freedom of the press or a similarly worthy human cause.

This year it is being conferred upon Barbara Walters, who can accurately be said to be both an individual and an institution in television newscasting. From her early days on the *Today* show to her current incumbency on *20/20* she has brought high standards of incisive interviewing and responsible commentary to the television medium. A hard-working professional, she is equally at home interviewing a head of state and an ordinary citizen. She has well earned the trust of the American people, the respect of her fellow journalists and the accolade she is receiving this evening from the Overseas Press Club of America.

CLASS 1



The Hal Boyle Award for best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad Honorarium: \$100 from AT&T

MARGARET ELLEN HALE

The Gannett News Service for 'AIDS: a Killer Stalks the Globe'

Hale found a fresh approach to a story receiving major worldwide coverage and took it much further with energy, dedication and footwork unparalleled in reporting on this crisis. The series shows her expertise in placing this disease in a global perspective and her human touch in dealing with this sensitive issue.

CITATIONS: Michael Dorgan, the San Jose Mercury News, for 'Voyage into Terror'
Larry Olmstead, the Detroit Free Press, for 'Inside ANC'

CLASS 2

The Bob Considine Award for best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs Honorarium: \$1,000 from the King Features Syndicate

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

for 'Islam on the Move' by Karen Elliott House, Youssef Ibrahim, Philip Rezvin, Barbara Rosewicz, James Paul Sterba and Lee Lescaze

Excellent team reporting analyzes the rapid rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the serious impact it will have on the U.S. In fascinating and extremely well-written stories, overseas correspondents using official and unofficial sources showed the inter-relationships of Islam in many countries and advanced understanding of this movement.

CITATIONS: Bob Adams, the St. Louis Post Dispatch, for 'The Soviet Union: a Second Revolution?'
John Zakarian, the Hartford Courant, for 'Despair in the Holy Land'

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA

CLASS 3



The Robert Capa Gold Medal for photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise
Medal and \$1,000 honorarium from Life magazine

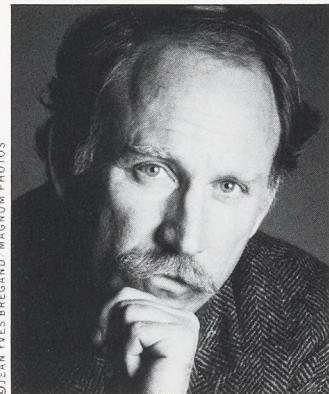
JANET KNOTT

The Boston Globe for 'Democracy: What Price?'

Knott won the Capa Gold Medal for her coverage of the elections in Haiti. In the street fighting and violence, gunfire came at unexpected times and places. Many citizens were shot, some killed. Photographers were special targets of the police and military; many were arrested, some had their film confiscated. In this setting Knott captured on film the bloodshed, murder and violence in the Haitian capital and surrounding countryside.

CITATIONS: Phillip Davies, Viorel Florescu and Jeffrey Salter, *Newsday*, for 'Haiti's Election: Only Death Counted'
Itsuo Inouye, the Associated Press, for 'Street Riots, Seoul, Korea'

CLASS 4A



The Olivier Rebot Award for best photographic reporting from abroad for magazines or books
A plaque and \$1,000 honorarium from Newsweek

SEBASTIÃO SALGADO

The New York Times Magazine for 'An Epic Struggle for Gold'

Salgado's series of otherworldly pictures shows Brazilian workers digging in mud in dangerous, primitive conditions. The content was dramatic; the photos were commanding.

CITATION: Jean-Bernard Diederich, Contact Press Images, for 'AIDS in Haiti,' in *Life* magazine

JUDGES

CLASS 1

T. Sumner Robinson
Alan Fisk
Allan Dodds Frank
Steve Friedman
William Small

CLASS 2

T. Sumner Robinson
Alan Fisk
Allan Dodds Frank
William Small

CLASSES 3 & 4

Harold G. Buell
Jack Corn
Jim Dooley
Vinnie Alabiso

CLASSES 5 & 6

David Anderson
William Kratch
Milan Skacel
Gene Sosin
William Conlan
Fritz Littlejohn

CLASSES 7 & 8

David Shefrin
Arthur Unger
Kim Gantz
Peggy Hubble

CLASSES 9 & 10

H.L. Stevenson
R. Edward Jackson
Nancy Giges
David Langford

CLASS 11

John Prescott
William McBride
James Donna
Michael Packenham

CLASS 12

H. Lee Silberman
George Bookman
William Lander

CLASS 13

Ralph Gardner
Jean Baer
Rob Roy Buckingham
Anita Diamant
Rosalie Brody Feder
Kenneth S. Giniger
Grace Shaw

CLASS 14

Julia Edwards
Blythe Foote Finke
Henrietta Brackman
Ralph Gardner

AWARDS'87

CLASS 4B



Best photographic reporting from abroad for newspapers and wire services
Honorarium: \$1,000 from the Eastman Kodak Professional Products Division

GARY PORTER

The Milwaukee Journal for 'Empty Cradles: the Global Tragedy of Child Mortality'

A collection of images from around the world reflected upon homeless child refugees and depicted one of the great tragedies of our time.

CITATION: Stan Grossfeld, the Boston Globe, for 'The Whisper of Stars: a Siberian Journey'

Production facilities for the Awards
Videotape courtesy of Unitel Video, Inc.
Producer:
George E. Burns

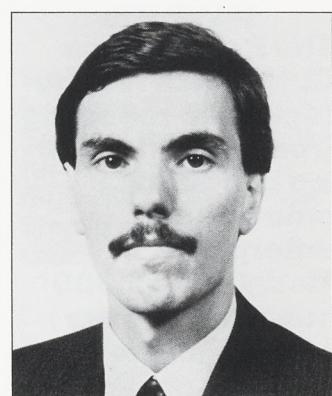
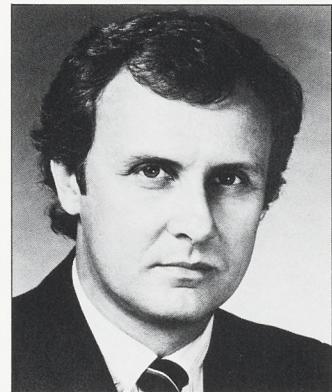
CLASS 5



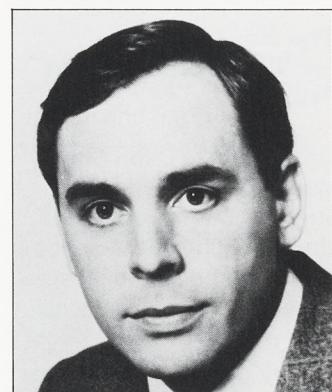
The Ben Grauer Award for best radio spot news reporting from abroad

CBS NEWS RADIO

for Persian Gulf Coverage by Richard Wagner (above), Allen Pizzey, Dan Raviv and Doug Tunell



Spot news reports ranged from coverage of the attack on the U.S.S. Stark in May to the rescue of a crewman from a tanker in December. The reports included interviews with officers and crew and conveyed a sense of action, suspense and danger. The reporting was clear, concise, colorful and fast paced.



CITATION: Jon Bascome and Robin Sproul, ABC Radio, for 'Earnest Will: Americans in the Gulf'

CLASS 6

The Lowell Thomas Award for best radio interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs
Honorarium: \$1,000 from Capital Cities Communications

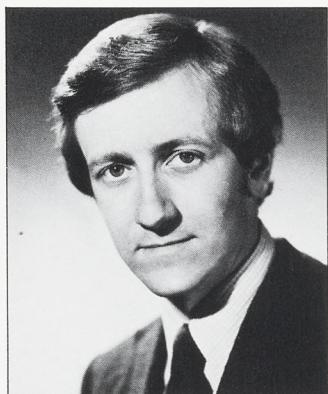
CBS NEWS RADIO

for *Newsmark: Patrolling the Gulf*
by Allen Pizsey, Dan Raviv and Doug Tunnell (left)

This 30-minute documentary on the U.S. patrol of the Persian Gulf included reports from the U.S.S. *Kidd*, with sounds, voices and interviews with officers during an alert at sea, and interviews with experts on the Iran-Iraq war, Islamic rivalries, U.S. relations with Gulf allies and the Soviet Union. First-rate documentary reporting.

CITATION: Vince Winkel, Monitoradio, for *Organization of Eastern Caribbean States*

CLASS 7



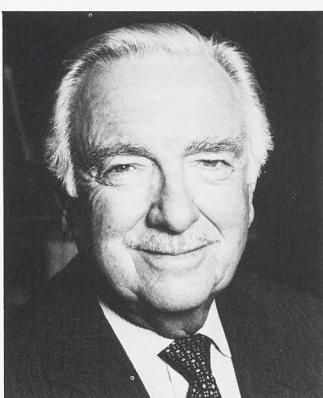
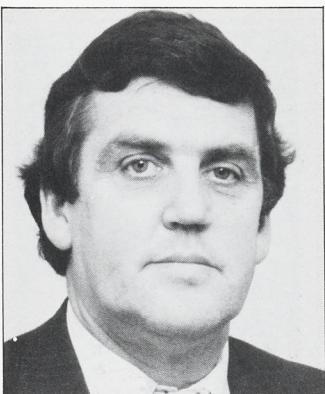
Best television spot news reporting from abroad
Honorarium: \$1,000 from Eastman Kodak Motion Picture and Audio Visual Division

NBC NIGHTLY NEWS WITH TOM BROKAW

for *Brian Ross's International Drug Investigations*
by Brian Ross, Ira Silverman and William Wheatley Jr.

Ranging from the Bahamas to Europe to the Middle East, this series shows airplanes dropping cocaine to boats, smugglers bringing drugs into Europe and cash out of Lebanon and acres of opium poppies and hashish under cultivation. It interviews smugglers and exposes the corruption of officials that makes this trade possible.

CLASS 8



The Edward R. Murrow Award for best television interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs
Honorarium: \$1,000 from CBS News

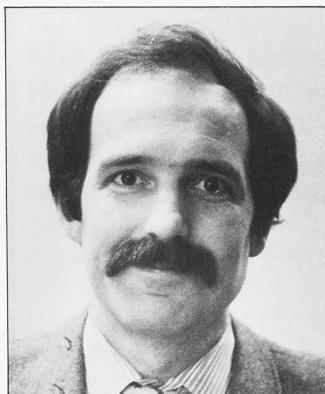
BRIAN ELLIS AND WALTER CRONKITE

CBS Network News for CBS Reports: Children of Apartheid

A dramatic counterpoint of interviews with the 27-year-old daughters of Prime Minister Botha and imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, as well as with other young people in South Africa. Life today and the visions of the future seen by the youth of that country.

CITATION: Ofra Bikel, WGBH-TV *Frontline*, for *'Israel: the Price of Victory'*

CLASS 9



The Ed Cunningham Award for best magazine reporting from abroad
Honorarium: \$500 from the OPC Foundation

DAVID ZUCCHINO

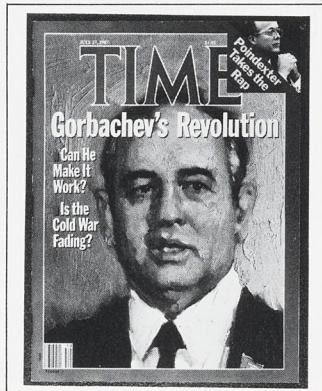
The Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine for 'Smothering the Flames of Black Revolution'

From the South African township of Tembisa, home to a quarter of a million blacks, Zucchino reports with graphic detail the rage that seethes under the state of emergency: young blacks turning on blacks they consider traitors, black policemen savagely beaten and burned to death; the grisly frustration that tears at South Africa with no apparent end in sight.

CITATION: Mike Edwards, *National Geographic*, for *'Chernobyl: One Year After'*

AWARDS'87

CLASS 10



The Hallie and Whit Burnett Award for best magazine article on foreign affairs
Honorarium: \$500

TIME MAGAZINE

for 'Gorbachev's Revolution'
by Strobe Talbott, James Jackson, John Kohan, Ken Olsen, Thomas Sancton and Walter Isaacson

The world watched intently as the smiling, PR-minded Gorbachev energetically pushed the Soviet Union toward a second revolution. After 28 months a team of six senior writers put his progress at home and in other parts of the globe in perspective in a July cover story. *Time* concluded, "The West cannot afford to let down its guard."

CITATION: Maria Thomas, Harper's magazine, for 'A State of Permanent Revolution'

CLASS 11



Best cartoon on foreign affairs
Honorarium: \$500 from the New York Daily News

HERBERT BLOCK

The Washington Post

Excellent draftsmanship, style and execution, as well as humor and directness, mark cartoons that Her-block has been publishing for 30 years in the *Post*, and in 1987 their force and timeliness stood out.

CITATION: Doug Marlette, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution

CLASS 12A



Best business or economic reporting from abroad for magazines
Honorarium: \$1,000 from Morton Frank

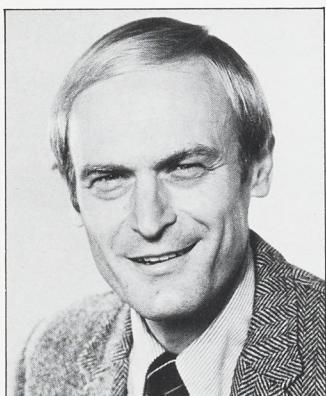
BUSINESS WEEK

for 'Japan: Remaking a Nation'
by Larry Armstrong, Barbara Buell, Michael Berger, Amy Borrus, Neil Gross, Steven Dryden, William Holstein, William Glassgall and Robert Dowling

This intensively researched, insightful report delves deeply into Japanese commercial practices, particularly resistance to U.S. products, as it examines Japanese societal, economic and cultural life and its changing culture and attitudes.

CITATIONS: Fortune magazine, for 'Japan's Troubled Future: Special Report,' by Joel Dreyfuss, Gene Bylinsky, Louis Kraar and Frederick Hiroshi Katamaya
Newsweek, for 'The Phone War: Six Trade Myths,' by Michael Meyer and team

CLASS 12B



Best business or economic reporting from abroad for newspapers or wire services
Honorarium: \$1,000 from *Forbes* magazine

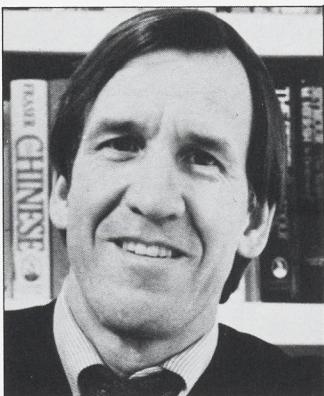
JAMES ALLEN FLANERY

The Omaha World-Herald for 'World Agriculture: Growing Pains'

A straightforward six-part series explains to local farmers just who they're competing against in Brazil, Argentina and Europe for world markets. While telling the story in human terms, Flanery brings home to his readers an understanding and appreciation of the global forces in their lives.

CITATIONS: Roger Cohen and Peter Truell, the *Wall Street Journal*, for 'Third World Debt Crisis'
 Charles Hanley, the Associated Press, for 'The Race: U.S.-Japan'

CLASS 13



The Cornelius Ryan Award for best book on foreign affairs
Honorarium: \$1,000 from R.R. Donnelley & Sons

RAYMOND BONNER

for *Waltzing with a Dictator: the Marcoses and the Making of American Policy*, published by Times Books

This excellent narrative, based on more than 3,200 previously classified documents and on interviews with key participants, traces the relationship between five U.S. Administrations and the Marcos regime, revealing many facts for the first time.

CITATION: Arthur Bonner, for *Among the Afghans*, published by Duke University Press

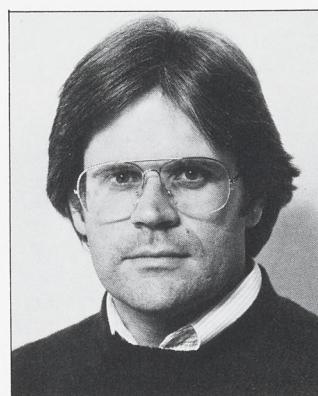
CLASS 14



The Madeline Dane Ross Award for the foreign correspondent showing a concern for the human condition
Honorarium: \$1,000

JOSEPH ALLBRIGHT, MARCIA KUNSTEL AND RICK MCKAY

Cox Newspapers for 'Stolen Childhood'



Correspondents Allbright and Kunstel and photographer McKay traveled to 11 countries on five continents for this report, from Brazil to Kenya, India, Thailand and the Philippines; they reported on 5-year-olds working for pennies, children with lung diseases making rugs, small boys dodging molten dribbles in a primitive glassworks, 13-year-old girls sold into prostitution by parents. They also showed that abuses can be stopped where laws are enforced and child welfare programs supported.

CITATION: Kristen Helmore, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and Sara Terry, Monitoradio, for 'The Children in Darkness: the Exploitation of Innocence'





Since 1980, when a Brazilian peasant found gold nuggets at Serra Pelada, 400,000 fortune seekers have reduced a small mountain to a crater 600 feet deep and half a mile wide. "Every day thousands of men carry bags filled with dirt and stones up primitive stairs," says Salgado. "Often the bags break and people below are killed by the falling rocks."

Magnum photographer Sebastião Salgado's study of the Serra Pelada gold mine in Brazil is part of a larger project about men at work around the world. "By the next century many old forms of production will vanish," he says. "We will never see anything like this gold mine again."



AWARDS'87

When 17 Haitian voters were murdered at a polling booth last November, Boston Globe photographer Janet Knott arrived close behind police and medical workers. Says Knott: "It took months for me to get over the shock of what I witnessed."



CLASS 3

JANET KNOTT

Five minutes after Haitian police left the site of the election day massacre, Ton Ton Macoute vigilantes opened fire on Knott and other journalists. "We scaled six 15-foot cinder block walls to escape," says Knott. "I was so scared I didn't stop to look back."



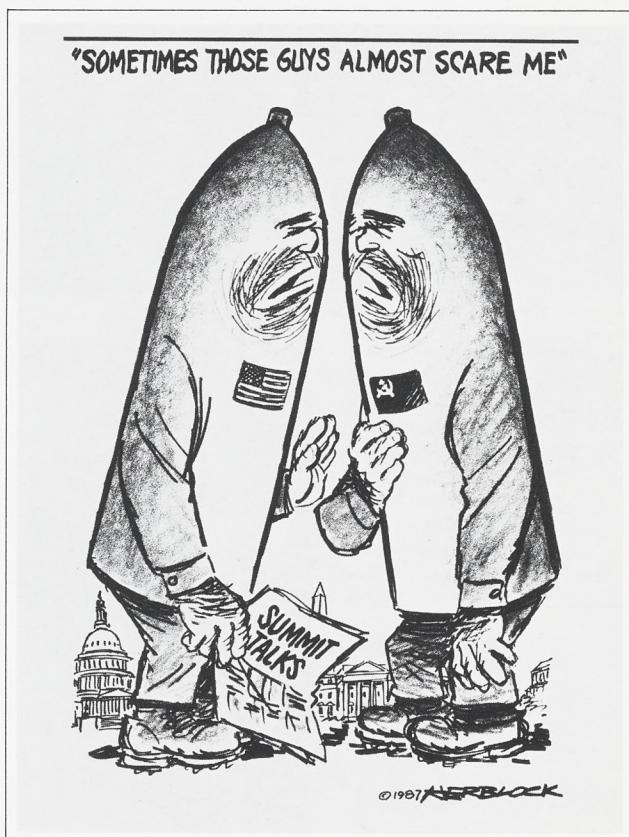
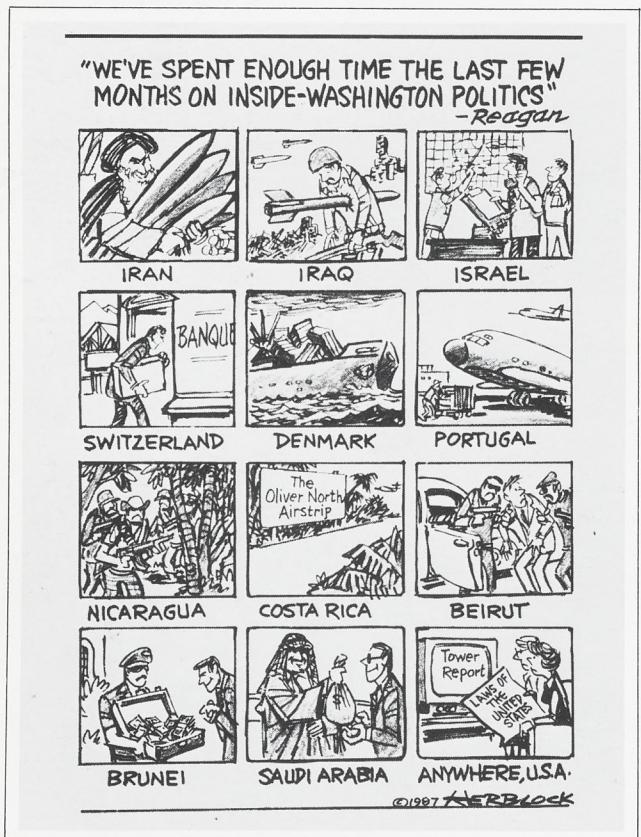
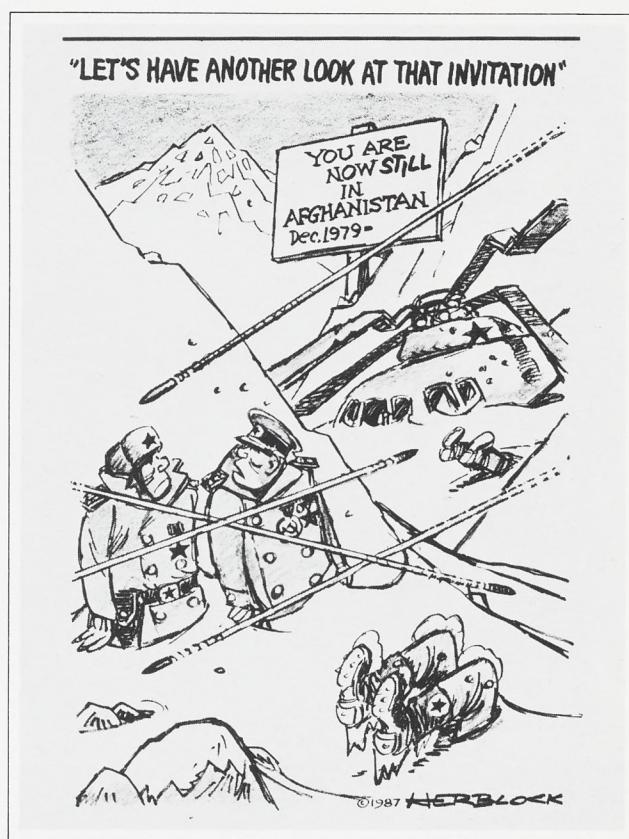
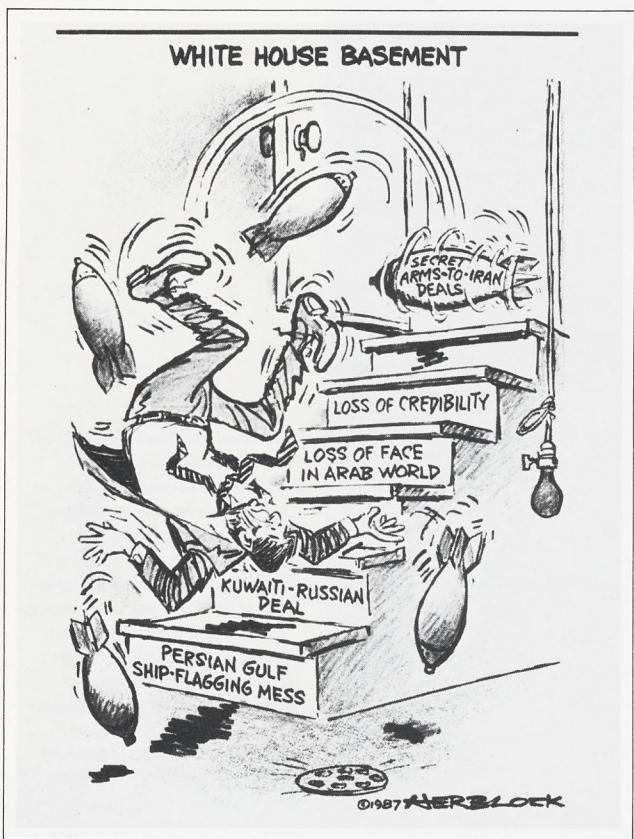


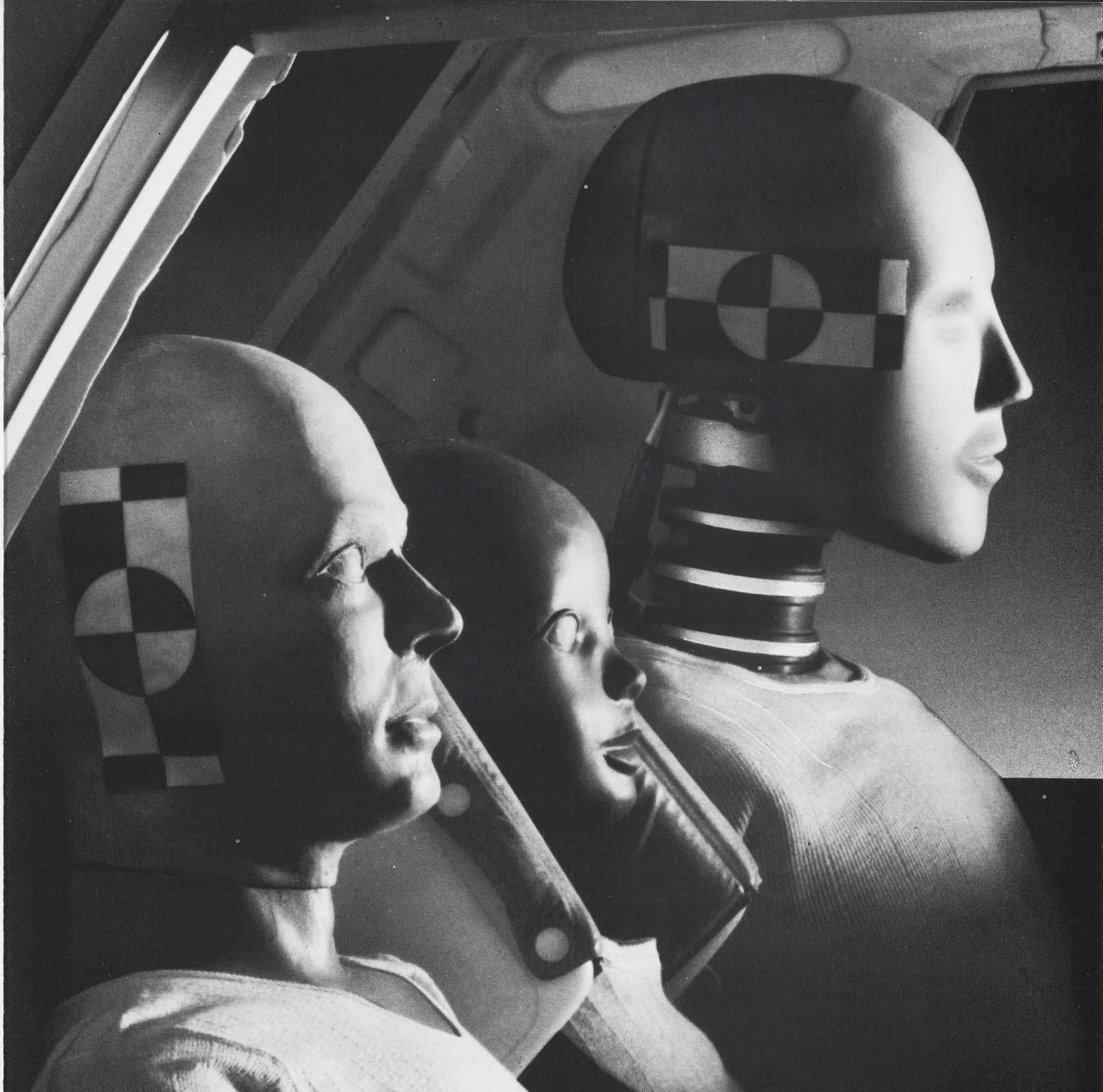
CLASS 4B
GARY PORTER

"Every day 40,000 children worldwide under the age of 5 die from preventable illnesses," says *Milwaukee Journal* photographer Gary Porter, who encountered this woman beggar and her malnourished child outside a temple in Kathmandu, Nepal.

Bilal, a 2-year-old in the slums of Dhaka, Bangladesh, suffers from deadly dysentery. "People nearby were washing and cooking with water polluted with human excrement," says Porter.







***The World Leader
in Safety Research***



PETER SERLING (2)

Babbitt learned a campaign leaves little time for reflection on breaking news.

AN EX-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE REFLECTS ON TODAY'S PRESS, THE MADCAP PACE AND THE FRIENDLY CHAOS OF AMERICAN POLITICS

by Bruce Babbitt

Nearing the end of a long campaign day in Iowa earlier this year, I sat in the middle of a crowded van, bouncing along a wintry country road, as I enjoyed a thoroughly intelligent conversation with a *Le Monde* correspondent about the future of the Atlantic alliance, arms control and politics in France.

We neared the outskirts of Des Moines, and I asked the French correspondent how he planned to spend the balance of the evening. He was collecting a group of his European colleagues, he said, to dine at a trendy downtown restaurant on his rather lavish expense account. "You see," he explained, "we consider Iowa what the diplomats call a 'hardship post.' "

I tell that story because I cannot help but think of the way somewhat different hardships often afflict members of the Overseas Press Club of America

who cover politics abroad. I've heard the hair-raising tales of journalists who crawled on their bellies along rooftops so they could witness election-day demonstrations in the streets of some Latin American city without catching a stray bullet.

Also, consider the foreign journalists who traveled to Manila to cover the rise of Cory Aquino. They likely changed the dynamic of events in the Philippines through their relentless probing into the fairness of the election process.

In Haiti last year, a press attaché from the U.S. Embassy had to commandeer an armored truck to rescue several journalists trapped in cross fire at polling places. That's my idea of public relations.

Precisely these contrasts between the U.S. press abroad and the foreign press here in the States underscore

the remarkable durability and wonder of the U.S. political system. Imagine how much we all learn about American democracy in comparing the tales of reporters who've been shot at, threatened, intimidated and even beaten versus the dilemma of my French friend whose only worry that night in Iowa was whether or not the calamari at the City Grille would be fresh.

For all the complaints and laments and worries about the relationship between the press and politicians here in the United States, the quality of coverage and the accessibility of the story is always a tribute to our unique system of self-government. And you never have to wear a flak jacket, not even in Chicago.

In 1988 we've worried together—the candidates under inspection and the journalists doing the looking—about

the new boundaries between the press and politicians. A new set of rules is being written, even in the midst of the current campaign.

It's not easy to sort out the relationship when you're an active participant. I still cringe when I think of the conversation I had with my press aide last year when he reported to me that a legal journal had asked to see my law school transcript. "What do you think?" I asked. There was a long pause before he answered, ever so delicately, "Governor, I find it encouraging that you had a balanced enough perspective to be a C student at Harvard Law." At least he could have said I was in the upper half of the C students.

At other times, I had cameras poking at me across the breakfast table, writers asking my kids if I was a slob at home, network crews witnessing my debate preparation with a television coach and intrepid investigative reporters prowling around my hometown asking former high school sweethearts about the "nature of their early encounters with Bruce."

It's fair to observe that no one begged me to run for President and that I had a pretty good idea of what I was getting into. And all but a very few of my encounters with the press were completely professional and sometimes entertaining.

But there were times when I felt that we both stretched the limits of propriety in the course of doing our jobs. I endured some fairly remarkable questioning about the fidelity of my marriage and too many inquiries that seemed designed for gossip value rather than the interest of a discerning public. For my part, I went too far sometimes in making every facet of the Babbitt campaign a public open house, trading an uncommon amount of access for a little more airtime.

The days of reporters going home at sundown to leave the politicians free to pursue their pleasures have passed. As a nation, we have come to use our presidential elections as a way to define who we are, collectively, as Americans. So it is not at all unnatural for Americans to have a high degree of interest in the personality and character of their President.

The problem lies elsewhere. In the 1988 presidential election, there seems to have been a demise of what we used to call conventional wisdom. Things don't seem to go the way we thought they would yesterday.

The truth is that wisdom won't sit still long enough to become conventional. Our news is now of the instant kind; there's less and less time for reflection and analysis. Deadlines used to be of the daily variety. Then they happened every time the next news cycle began. Now they happen on the hour, even minute by minute.

The driving beat of political news barely allows us time to pause and think about what has happened, let alone what should happen. It all becomes so breathtaking that voters, winded, sit down at the side of the trail and ask not to be bothered until the race finally nears some approximation of a finish line.

At the beginning of my campaign, in January 1987, I knew that I might be overshadowed by Gary Hart once we reached the start of the primary contests a year later. Little did I know that the shadow would be cast by Gary's second coming and that I would still enjoy a boomlet of press coverage that would come and go in the new year before the votes were cast in the first contest.

I can remember talking to Joe Biden one day in the midst of his turmoil over the fast-moving story about his speechmaking and his academic records. We had, in an unlikely sort of way, befriended each other during the course of the campaign in 1987, and I said to him that it was too bad there was no way to slow down the news. We both knew it was likely he would depart the race. But it seemed a shame that the decision had to come on the spot and that the case would be closed be-

fore all the arguments were in.

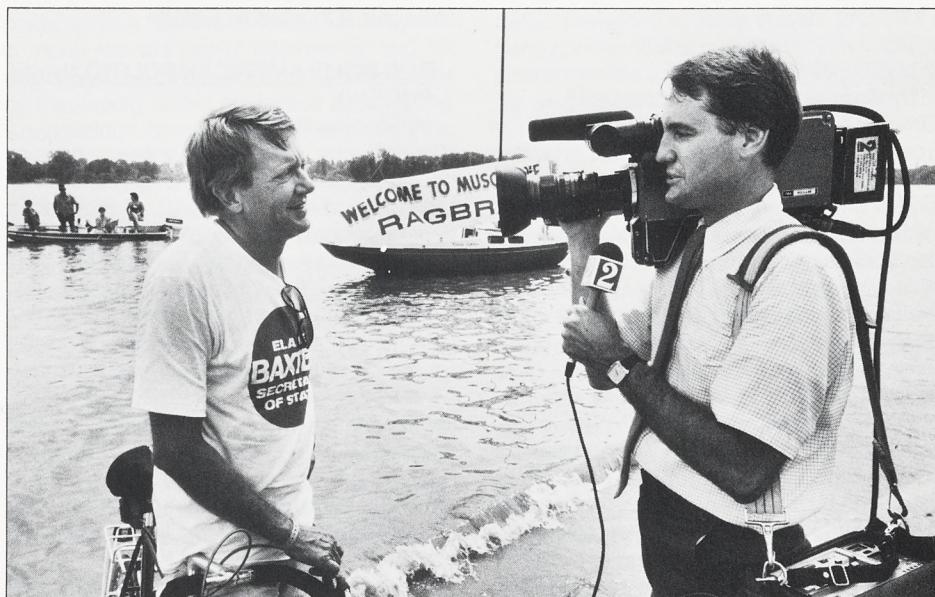
I look back at my campaign with some pride, knowing that there's a lot that could have been done differently but that there was at least an opportunity for some of my views to be considered. My argument rested on a long-range view of America's future. I got a hearing, to be frank, because the stock market crashed last October and, for a while, there was substantial interest in the issue of the federal deficit.

But the debate moved on. And so did I. My point is that we should figure out some way for the arguments to linger, for our debate to reflect more than the best 10-second sound bites and for our politics to be a little more contemplative instead of chaotic.

If I were that French correspondent sitting in a van with an American presidential candidate, that's the lesson I'd draw. There's much to be admired about U.S. politics, but the nature of our information technology, the hectic way we conduct our affairs as a nation and the very personal relationship between the press and politicians almost makes our politics overexposed.

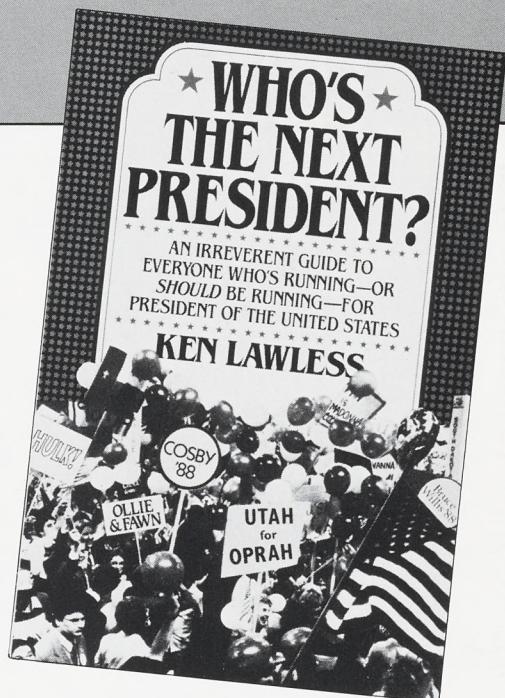
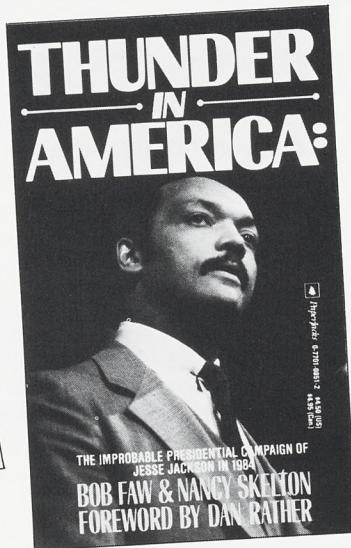
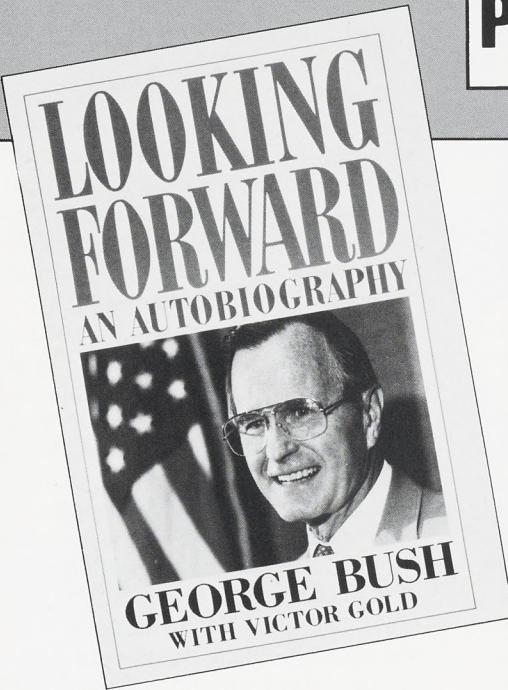
But if you ask me what changes we should make, I'd have to answer that it beats me. Maybe someone should give me a press credential and an expense account and point me to some campaign in a far-off land. In drawing the comparisons, I bet I'd come back with some answers. □

Former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt ended his bid for the Democratic nomination for President in February.



Breaking away from the pack early, Babbitt made a bicycle tour across Iowa.

PICKS & PANS



by Ralph Novak

For voters trying to claw their way through all the imaging to find out something about prospective presidential candidates, campaign biographies are probably better than reading tea leaves, though it's often a marginal call. The "authorized" books generally come in three varieties: self-serving, really self-serving and hey-I-didn't-know-Mother-Teresa-was-running-this-year. The unauthorized volumes usually come with the filings from the freshly sharpened hatchet blade embedded in the pages. It should be noted that there have been no recent, relevant books by or about Richard Gephardt, Albert Gore or Paul Simon and that from a campaign biography standpoint, it's sure too bad Gary Hart dropped out of the race. Here's a look at this year's crop of campaign books:

paigning in the 1980 presidential primary in Michigan with Gov. Bill Milliken, when a middle-age woman suddenly ran up to him and shouted, "Bush, you (expletive)! I wouldn't vote for you if Castro was running!" Then, Bush says, "Bill shook his head. 'What do you think, George?' he asked. 'For or against?' 'Undecided,' I replied. 'Put her down as a firm undecided.'" So much for humanizing. Only 30 of the book's 250 pages address Bush's eight years as Vice-President under Ronald Reagan, and nowhere does he offer any real introspection about why he would even want to be President. That's a chronic problem of campaign autobiographies but seems especially noticeable with a man who has been close enough to the job that he ought to be able to articulate in some detail why he wants to have it. (Doubleday, \$18.95)

▲ LOOKING FORWARD

by George Bush with Victor Gold

Either the Vice-President is a lot funnier in front of a word processor than he is in front of a camera or Gold, a Bush staff member, is the kind of ghost every candidate dreams about. Without getting too unpresidential about it, this book is mildly witty, relaxed and not too defensive even in confronting Bush's role in the Iran-contra scandal. There are plenty of gosh-darned fine memories—"We were a close, happy family," Bush says of his Connecticut childhood—yet there are also moments that, if not reminiscent of Robin Williams or Richard Pryor, are what passes for humor in this kind of literature. Of his WW II experience as a Navy pilot, Bush writes, "How do you put a TBM Avenger into the water with four 500-pound bombs in its belly? Very carefully." Elsewhere he tells of cam-

▲ BOB DOLE: AMERICAN POLITICAL

PHOENIX

by Stanley G. Hilton

Wonder why they haven't been passing copies of this out at the Dole speeches? Hilton, who worked for the Kansas Senator for a year as minority counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee, portrays his former boss as an insecure, often nasty man, "desperately wanting to be liked by everyone but fearing rejection and ridicule, angry toward the world for having deprived him of a good arm and condemning him to be, in his own eyes, something less than a whole person." Hilton says that Dole in private "genuinely loathed" George Bush and considered President Reagan a "geriatric basket case" and berated his own staff members for small mistakes, even as he took public-speaking lessons to try to tone down his public sarcasm. The only real

personal influence in Dole's life, Hilton says, is his wife, Elizabeth. Explaining his refusal to vote against a ruling she made as Secretary of Transportation, Hilton says, Dole once told his Senate colleagues, "I gotta go home at night, you know. Can't antagonize the queen." (Contemporary Books, \$18.95)

▲ DUKAKIS: AN AMERICAN ODYSSEY

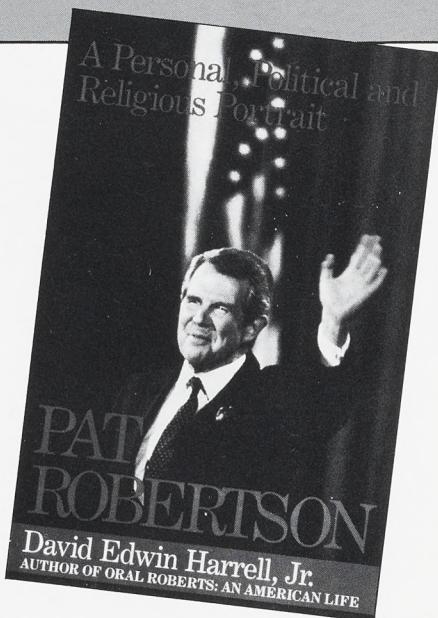
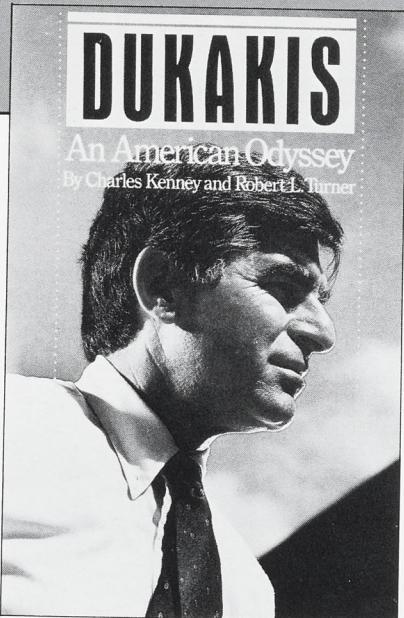
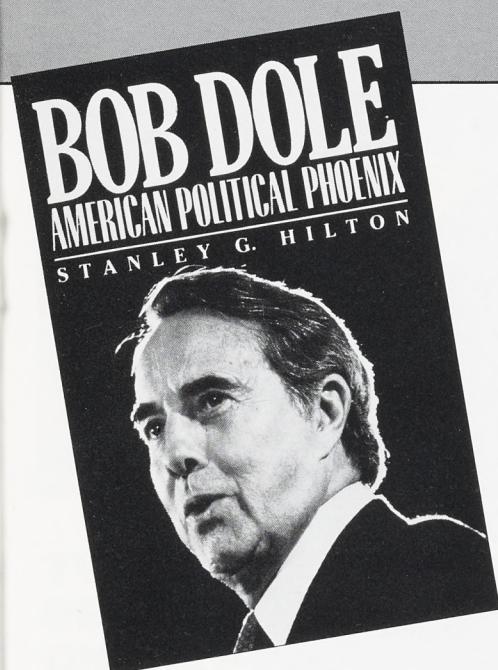
by Charles Kenney and Robert L. Turner

Kenney and Turner, two *Boston Globe* staff members, characterize Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis as honest and determined. They also portray him as stubborn, self-righteous, quietly ruthless and hard driven by ambition. Defeat in his attempt to gain reelection in 1978 left him so depressed that his wife, Kitty, said later, "I was really worried about him." At the beginning of his first term, Dukakis refused jobs to a number of longtime friends and campaign aides for fear of seeming to indulge in patronage, leading one Massachusetts legislator to call him "the perfect ingrate." When he returned with a relatively conciliatory style and won the 1982 gubernatorial election, his communications secretary said, "He didn't want to lose again, more than he even wanted to win." Among the sources Kenney and Turner cite is Fran Meany, who was Dukakis' confidante and campaign manager for his first gubernatorial race and has remained loyal to him. Nevertheless, Meany says Dukakis "is the No. 1 master of self-delusion that I've ever met in my life." (Houghton Mifflin, \$16.95)

▲ DUKAKIS AND THE REFORM IMPULSE

by Richard Gaines and Michael Segal

Gaines and Segal are veteran Massachusetts political writers, but Segal's wife is part



of Dukakis' staff. So despite occasional lapses into objectivity, the tone of this biography is suggested by this description: "In Dukakis coexists a strain of modernity, the practice of secular humanism with its respect for human and civil rights and privacy, and an old-world dedication to the family as the building block of social stability." (Quinlan, \$17.95)

▲ THUNDER IN AMERICA

by Bob Faw and Nancy Skelton

While there is no new book on the Rev. Jesse Jackson, this well-reported history of his campaign in 1984 offers insights not only into his personality but into voters'—and politicians'—reactions to America's first serious black presidential candidate. Faw and Skelton give evidence that Jackson is a man of wit as well as arrogance and is cynical enough to call Tom Brokaw or Dan Rather at their homes to ask how extensively they might cover a trip to Nicaragua he was thinking of making. There are also plenty of provocative quotes. The late James Baldwin says, "[Jackson's] presence presents the American Republic with questions and choices it has spent all its history until this hour trying to avoid." And the authors report on a black couple walking away from a rally in Hackensack, N.J. "'That man got a lot of nerve,' the man said to the woman. 'If he don't be a winner, he sure give them a fright,' she replied with a smile." (PaperJacks, \$4.50)

▲ PAT ROBERTSON

by John Donovan

Whatever kind of candidate he has been, Robertson is a great subject for a biography. This is the authorized version, however, and

Donovan starts out by noting that the spring of Robertson's birth in Virginia "came early and bright with japonica, forsythia and redbud." He also notes, "After graduation from Yale, Robertson took the New York Bar exam, but because his heart wasn't in it, he failed." And Donovan writes, "He was a man of principle even when it cost him. For example, he just did not believe in raffles." (Macmillan, \$14.95)

▲ SALVATION FOR SALE

by Gerard Thomas Straub

If Donovan's book seems to be the start of canonization proceedings for Robertson, Straub is clearly pointed in the opposite direction. Onetime producer of Robertson's *700 Club*, he describes the clergyman-turned-politician as a "cutthroat leader," among other none-too-worshipful comments, and he sketches a hypothetical Robertson Presidency that would all but guarantee at least one Armageddon before the midterm elections. (Prometheus Books, \$14.95)

▲ PAT ROBERTSON

by David Edwin Harrell Jr.

Harrell is a University of Alabama in Birmingham historian who occupies a middle ground between Donovan and Straub. He at least raises questions about the viability of Robertson's candidacy, but his reference to the Reverend's "broad political expertise" seems intemperate in the light of the primary results. Harrell's use of the editor of the student newspaper at Oral Roberts University as a source for political analysis might raise a question about his judgment too. (Harper & Row, \$15.95)

▲ CAMPAIGN '88

The cheapest of the season's serious campaign books might also be the most valuable. Compiled by its publisher, this anthology of magazine profiles covers 15 presidential candidates and is supplemented by questionnaires and brief life histories. A number of the subjects—such as Pierre DuPont, Alexander Haig and Bruce Babbitt—are already former candidates. Two—Mario Cuomo and Howard Baker—are candidates-in-waiting. The profiles are casual and hip enough so that Jon Margolis of the *Chicago Tribune* can speculate about Baker, "He likes being important enough to have powerful people seek his advice as much as he likes not having to make major decisions every day." The 15-item questionnaire, which all the candidates answered at least in part, provides a handy primer. Baker was the only Republican who answered a question on whether funding for sex education should be increased; he said "maybe." (National Press, \$7.95)

▲ WHO'S THE NEXT PRESIDENT

by Ken Lawless

Lawless, a New York humor writer, proposes a number of unorthodox alternatives to the politician candidates for President, from Kareem Abdul-Jabbar to Oprah Winfrey. He even suggests running mates, such as John DeLorean for Lee Iacocca and Jane Wyman for Nancy Reagan. What does he think this campaign is, a joke? (Perigee, paper, \$4.95)

Ralph Novak edits and writes many of the reviews in People magazine's Picks and Pans section.



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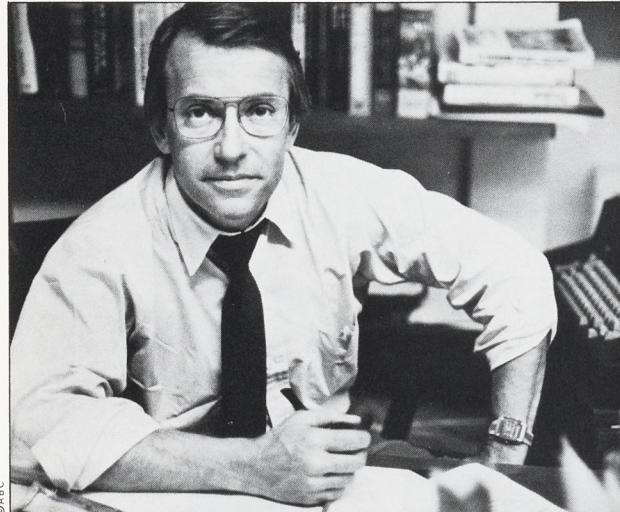
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Oscar Mayer Foods

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Threlkeld, an ABC veteran, recalls when the "walkie-lookie" camera brought the 1952 GOP convention into the living room.



©ABC



CORNELL CAPA/LIFE

TV TURNS A DEMOCRATIC EYE ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS

by Richard Threlkeld

In the halcyon days before television, when conventions were still the vaudeville of politics, H.L. Mencken could muse, "There is something about a national convention that makes it as fascinating as a revival or a hanging."

The bad news about party politics in the age of TV is that the convention is no longer the spectacle it used to be. The good news is that because of TV, the way we go about picking the candidates is a lot more democratic.

Not many observers were as prescient as Walter Goodman, who, after watching the first bona fide TV conventions in 1952, when the GOP almost tore itself apart before choosing Eisenhower, and the Democrats went through three ballots before drafting Stevenson, observed, "TV will be the making of the direct presidential primary."

And so it has been. All the quadrennial excitement these days happens in Des Moines or Concord or Charleston. The summer conclusion in Chicago or San Francisco or wherever the delegates gather is now mostly foregone. The convention is absorbed with getting the party to put its best face before the TV camera and get-

ting its candidate, preordained by the primaries, off to a good September start.

You may mourn the demise of the smoke-filled room (you somehow knew Mike Wallace or Sam Donaldson would come busting in with a microphone anyway), but you can't deny that because TV prompted this new living-room political process, millions of voters now have a chance they didn't have—to choose the November finalists.

As an ironworker in Waterloo, Iowa, remarked to me this winter, "at least it spreads the blame around."

We TV newsmen are loath to admit it, but all of the above would have happened anyway, regardless of all our reporting, analyzing and punditry in the 16 made-for-TV party conventions since 1952. That machine, that camera that allows people to go home and turn the politicians on (or off) has changed everything.

And these days, no self-respecting voter can claim he hasn't had a chance to expose himself to the process. The commercial networks aren't going gavel-to-gavel anymore, but the cable networks are, supplemented by local TV anchorpersons from Spokane to Sa-

vannah with updates on how Mayor This or State Senator That views the proceedings.

And just when you've decided TV has ruined things by making conventions so numbingly predictable, the TV camera, all by itself, catches some unscripted, compelling moment: a Goldwater convention booing Nelson Rockefeller off the platform (1964); Jimmy Carter wandering forlornly about the stage, trying to get Ted Kennedy to shake hands with him (1980). Conventions in the age of TV aren't dead, they're just different. At the Republican convention in 1968, CBS News researchers were all over the floor, buttonholing delegates to find out whom they planned to vote for. A Reagan delegate lobbied a befuddled Nixon delegate to get him to change his vote.

"I can't," he said. "I'm pledged."

"To whom?" asked the Reagan man.

"I told CBS I'm voting for Nixon. I'm pledged to CBS."

H.L. Mencken would have loved it. □

Richard Threlkeld is chief correspondent on ABC News' *World News Tonight*.



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THE PRODUCER OF TV'S *FRONTLINE* MAKES A PLEA FOR MORE MEMORABLE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

by David Fanning

Television has a way of slipping through the fingers. The daily news is disposable, last month's opinions are forgotten. By the end of this election year we will have analyzed, reported and essayed for thousands of hours. The cost would make a decent dent in the national debt. But in the end, little of it will be memorable.

Part of the problem is that we have become news junkies. And the election has become the national news event. The smart political operatives have learned to take advantage of television news. In New Hampshire in 1984 Gary Hart said, "You can get awfully famous in this country in seven days." He did. But it took us years to find out about the man inside the candidate. And therein lies the challenge.

For a television network, it would mean a real shift of priorities. It would take a concerted effort to pull back from the political horse race, to separate the candidates from the campaign, and to help us know who these men really are. We need to know about their friends and advisers, about whom they trust, about past crises and how they handled them, and about the world they want to live in and the country they want to lead.

There is great drama in all this. Because television could also use this moment in our history to bring its extraordinary resources to tell the other human stories of our times: the hopes and fears that shape us, the questions that are in fact our real national agenda. The candidates would have to respond. And then, make a program out of it all. A series. A serial. A long-running dialogue between the people and the men who would be President.

It could be the stuff of great television. People would watch, and remember. □

RICHARD HOWARD



David Fanning is producer of the public-affairs program *Frontline* on WGBH-TV in Boston.

Producer Fanning envisions political coverage that would create a true dialogue between candidates and voters.

PROBING THE CHARACTER OF THE CANDIDATES, ARGUES A BIOGRAPHER, SHOULD BE A CONTINUAL PROCESS

by Doris Kearns Goodwin

While most reporters today would affirm the importance of revealing presidential character, the practical question of how that can be done in the course of the campaign remains unanswered. Too often, except in moments of crisis, the analysis of character is left for long magazine profiles or for books. Yet, helpful as these longer pieces are, they cannot possibly compete in impact with the day-to-day coverage of the campaign in dozens of newspapers across the country. The real challenge, then, is how the regular political reporters can use their routine coverage of campaign events to open windows on the characters of the various candidates. I would argue that there are any number of clues to character that can be discerned simply by watching the candidates with a special eye as they journey from state to state, as their fortunes rise and fall, as they interact with their staff, as they deliver their stump speeches and even as they go about the task of shaking those countless hands.

I would love to know for a start how the various candidates compare in physical energy, for physical energy is often a clue to psychic energy and psychic energy is often a clue to character. If you look at the work habits of Coolidge and Harding—two markedly mediocre Presidents—it's clear they didn't have the requisite energy for the job. They liked to sleep until 10 in the morning and could only stand to work a limited number of hours a day. Yet at the other extreme stands Lyndon Johnson, whose energy was sometimes so overwhelming and so manic that it masked an inability to reflect upon the world or to find peace within



Goodwin, a Concord, Mass., resident, ponders past campaigns.

STEVE LISS/TIME

himself. Reporters can provide witness to this quality by describing how the candidate responds to the early mornings and the late nights, and, more important, how his psychic energy holds up during the tough moments—the poorly attended events, the hostile crowds, the electoral losses.

Reporters should also gauge the pleasure or pain each candidate takes in the process of campaigning. Teddy Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson were two candidates who seemed revitalized by the shouts and applause of their jostling admirers; their unfeigned delight was evident in the breadth of their smiles as they reached for yet another outstretched hand. In contrast, both

Richard Nixon and Gary Hart tended to stiffen when the crowd got too close, their bodies almost recoiling from the stranger's arm around the shoulder. The observation of these differences can provide a clue to the larger question of whether the candidate truly appreciates the hurly-burly of democratic politics or whether he is simply enduring the campaign as an irritating but necessary requisite for reaching the White House, where he can be insulated once and for all from the madding crowd.

Reporters traveling with a campaign are in the perfect position to observe the relationship between the candidate and his staff, and those observations can provide critical clues to the candidate's character. Are the staffers capable of arguing with the candidate, or do they tend to flatter him and tell him what he wants to hear? Are the aides nervous around the press, reflecting a fear that is emanating from the boss, or are they relaxed and straightforward? Is the candidate able to delegate well, or does he

insist on overseeing even the smallest detail? Does the candidate have the internal confidence to surround himself with men and women even smarter than he is? Does he blame his staff—as Robert Dole seemed to do after New Hampshire—when things go wrong? The answers to these questions could go a long way toward giving us an understanding of the way in which the internal dynamics of character influence the quality and performance of the White House staff the candidate is likely to create.

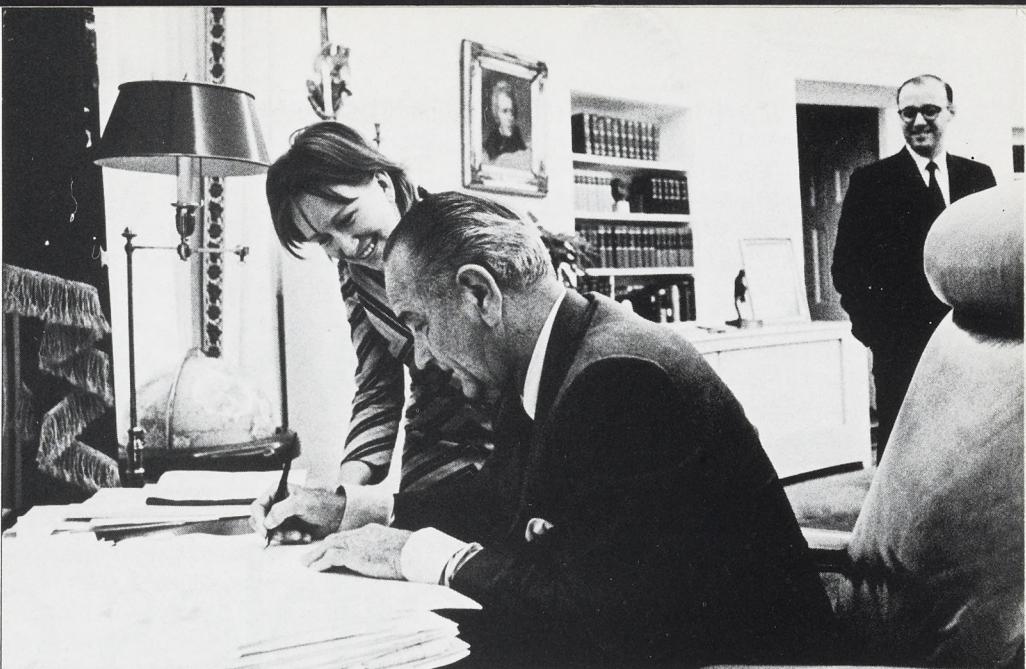
Some candidates have a greater capacity to be moved—emotionally and intellectually—by what they are seeing and experiencing in the course of the

long campaign. Some are more reflective than others. Each candidate should be asked on a daily basis: What did you learn today? What made an impact on you? When John Kennedy journeyed through the coal-mining country of West Virginia for the first time, he saw a form of poverty he had never seen before. Reporters observed that the experience touched him deeply and that he was thenceforth determined to do something about poverty. The openness to experience and the capacity for growth are critical qualities in a presidential candidate, since every President is bound to confront any number of situations and decisions he has never encountered before.

But in the end, the most important clues to character may be the least tangible, observable only by watching the candidate closely over a period of time. Is the candidate able to view the world with a sense of irony and humor? Can he laugh at himself, or does he take himself with an all-too-deadly seriousness? Does he evidence a lively interest in anything beyond politics? And finally, is he moved by passion for people or ideas, or is he simply the product of his own ambition?

Granted, there are no easy answers

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Goodwin commuted to Texas from 1969 to 1971 to help L.B.J. write his memoirs.

to these questions, but my guess is that the reporters following the campaigns could go a long way toward providing the public with a much deeper sense of the candidate's character. They should share with us all the detailed observations and the human stories they tend to share with one another over drinks late at night, and then they should

reflect upon how these observations can provide clues to what kind of President each candidate is likely to be. □

Doris Kearns Goodwin is the author of *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* and most recently *The Fitzgeralds and the Kennedys*.

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THE UPSTART NETWORK MUSCLES IN FOR THE BIG RACE

by Bernard Shaw

Republican Sen. Robert Dole's campaign manager, William Brock, was watching CNN last March when analyst Robert Novak reported that two senior staffers had "taken over the plane" in an attempt to bring coherence to Dole's strategy to stop rival George Bush. Brock thought he had fired aides David Keene and Donald Devine in a thundering telephone call to the campaign airplane heading south, but they were refusing to take "go" for an answer. That was Tuesday.

Forty-eight hours later, as candidate Dole addressed a group in Orlando, Fla., Brock fired Keene and Devine on the spot, saying, "I'm cutting the string. You're finished." They were kicked off the plane so abruptly that their suitcases went on to the next stop, Fort Smith, Ark.!

Our viewers caught the smell and fury of that classic power struggle days before the crucial March 8 Super Tuesday caucuses and primaries. It

was a sprightly example of "the network of record," as we like to call ourselves, in action.

A presidential candidate should like, and needs to be seen on, nationwide television. He should sooner look into a camera lens than a mirror. To win the White House, he must be seen and become known—and understood—by millions of people.

And that's what we do. All news, 24 hours daily, a global network that reaches 57 countries by cable and satellite. No presidential candidate ignores that kind of exposure.

In 1980, when Republican challengers Ronald Reagan and George Bush had the Carter-Mondale incumbency in their cross hairs, CNN could be seen by only 1.7 million households—2 percent of United States homes with television sets.

In 1988, CNN reaches 44.5 million homes, more than half of America's television households, according to A.C. Nielsen data released in February.

Candidates know voters are watching. But they pay the price of exposure: They must walk the plank of critical and sometimes rueful examination.

"I won't raise taxes, *period*," was how Vice-President George Bush stated his position while declaring his candidacy for President last fall. Two days later, under persistent questioning by

CNN's Frederick Allen, the Vice-President finally said, "If I were convinced that all the spending that could possibly be constrained or cut had taken place, then and only then would I consider a tax increase."

Bush's tax contradiction is on the public record forever. Critics and opponents won't let him forget it.

With live coverage of 10 candidate debates, daily hour-by-hour campaign reports, the *Crossfire* exchanges between Tom Braden and Pat Buchanan and our weekend wrap-up of campaign highlights, CNN is giving the election more airtime than any of the other three networks.

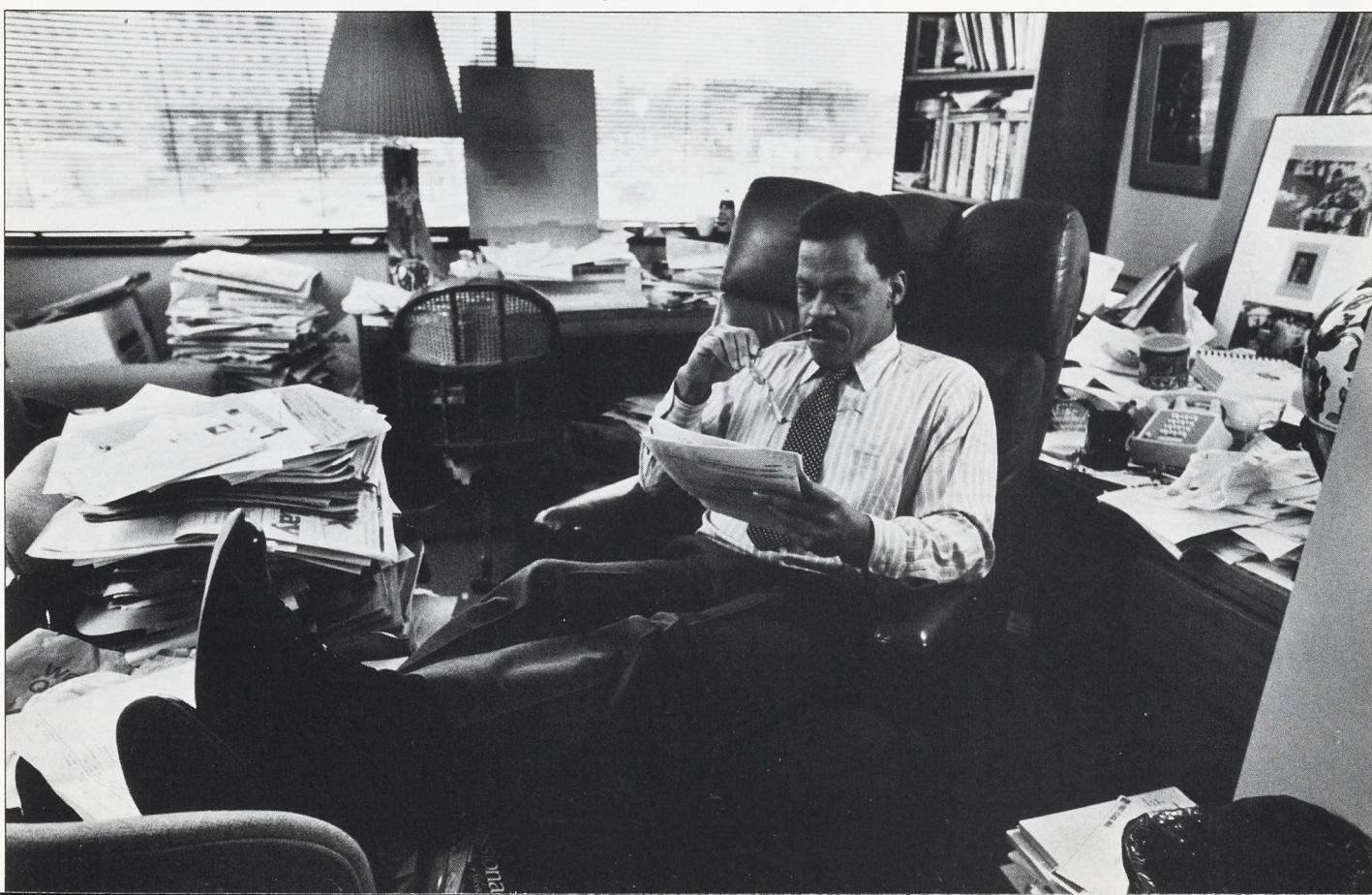
We shall be live, gavel to gavel, at the Democrats' national convention in Atlanta and the Republican powwow in New Orleans. With each party's nominees chosen, it's on to the general election campaign, winding up with day-and-night coverage on Nov. 8 as Americans select their new leader.

The media's role in presenting this grand and important political show is to educate but not pontificate. Our success will be measured through the eyes, and ultimately the votes, of the beholders. □

Bernard Shaw is CNN's principal Washington anchor.

Off-camera, Shaw relaxes in his lavishly cluttered Washington office.

STANLEY TRETICK



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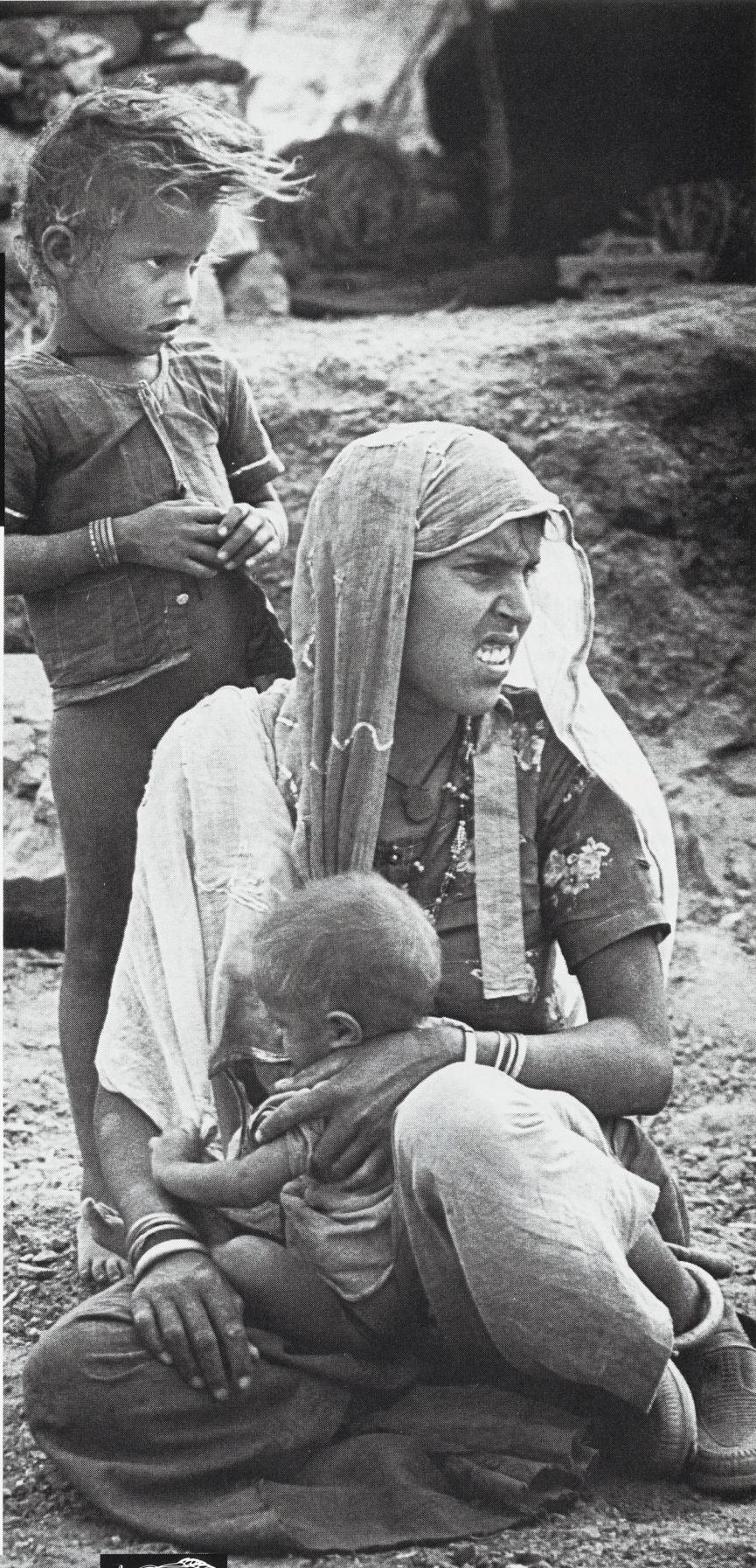
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STANLEY TRETICK

White House watcher Hunt mans his post at 1600 Pennsylvania.

A WHITE HOUSE VET OFFERS THE NEXT PRESS SECRETARY A LIGHTHEARTED GUIDE TO SURVIVAL

by Terence Hunt

Out there somewhere is a press secretary who's going to bump Marlin Fitzwater out of his job and move into the White House next Jan. 20. A cushy spot is waiting: a chandeliered office complete with a fireplace and seasoned wood delivered by an usher, four television screens for monitoring newscasts and an array of wall clocks giving the time in Washington, Moscow, Paris, Peking and whatever town the press secretary claims as home. There's also a hidden bar.

Here are some tips for the next spokesman:

Even if you win the fight for insider access to the President, beware the bureaucracy. Much like a reporter, you're going to have a tough time finding out what you want to know. Information will be withheld from you by bureaucrats because they think it's too sensitive or that you'll succumb to the demands of reporters and reveal it (gasp!).

The Reagan Presidency gave two models for press secretary: 1) the easy-going Fitzwater, who happily passed up

daily briefings and let other agencies take the lead role, and 2) Larry Speakes, the competitive infighter who held two briefings every day to take the spotlight away from the Pentagon and State and other departments.

Whichever approach you follow, make sure the boss has a news conference from time to time, if for no other reason than to take the heat off you. Reagan tortures the press with four- and five-month interludes between press conferences.

You might try currying favor with the press by persuading the President to follow the Reagan pattern and spend his vacations in swell spots like Santa Barbara. Jimmy Carter made no friends in the media by going to Plains, Ga.

On a stop at the White House for a Governors' conference, Michael Dukakis was asked by reporters where he liked to vacation. First he suggested Cape Cod. It didn't get much applause. Then he suggested the Berkshires. Mostly silence. Sensing he was losing his audience, he said, "On the other

hand, my wife expressed a preference for Maui the other day." There were cheers all around.

When you're in a pinch, remember these phrases that got a lot of use during the Reagan Administration:

I can't comment because:

1) It's being investigated by the special prosecutor.

2) It's being investigated by the (Tower, Iran-contra) board.

3) It's a matter before the courts.

Another time-tested response is this one: "The President has full confidence in (fill in the blank)." As soon as you say it, reporters will start writing the guy's political obituary.

It helps to be clever. Once, during a photo-taking session in the Roosevelt Room, Reagan bridled at questions from reporters. The President—who happened to be seated next to industrialist David Packard—was irritated and muttered under his breath, "Sons of bitches."

However, Speakes defused the situation by insisting reporters had misheard Reagan. He claimed that Reagan was actually making a comment on both the weather and Packard's wealth: "If he said anything," Speakes said, "he said, 'It's sunny and you're rich.' " □

Terence Hunt is the Associated Press White House correspondent.

A BRITISH BROADCASTER USES HIS SOFT TOUCH TO TEST THE METTLE OF THOSE WHO WOULD BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT

British journalist David Frost accepted a mammoth task when he signed on as host of the television series "The Next President." From July to November last year, Frost crisscrossed the United States to interview 12 presidential candidates and their wives at home, while shuttling back and forth to England each weekend on the Concorde to anchor his popular Sunday morning news program TV AM.

Arriving at each interview for "The Next President" with a buff-colored file folder on which he'd written his questions, Frost often found himself at the center of campaign chaos. His talk with Michael Dukakis was punctuated by ringing telephones because of the resignation earlier that day of John Sasso, a top aide deemed guilty of dirty politics for leaking a tape which sank Joe Biden's campaign by raising allegations that the Delaware Senator had plagiarized some of his campaign speeches. Frost's meeting with Jesse Jackson took an unexpected turn when Chicago Mayor Harold Washington decided to endorse Jackson in racially explosive Cicero, Ill. With Frost as a kibitzer, Washington and Jackson met at a diner to plan the announcement. Paul Simon gave Frost a lesson in how to tie a bow tie. And while taking Frost on a ride in his powerboat down the Potomac River, George Bush fished a soda can from the water and fussed about litter bugs.

During a recent conversation with correspondent Diana Waggoner, Frost sipped a glass of dry white wine and puffed on a cigar as he mused on his experiences making "The Next President."

After interviewing each of the candidates, what is your impression of the group as a whole?

I found the candor with which most of them were willing to talk about life-

shaping experiences particularly impressive. For example, George Bush talked very openly about the death of his daughter, and Richard Gephardt shared the anguish he has felt because of his young son's illness. With politicians you usually don't expect such frankness.

Why did your interviews focus on personality rather than politics?

I believe the "what makes people tick" quotient can be just as important in evaluating candidates as learning where they stand on the issues. Knowing how people have been shaped by the landmark experiences of their lives can help us understand how they might react in a crisis.

Have the media become too preoccupied with so-called moral issues in covering campaigns?

I suspect the debate about where you draw the line as far as a candidate's right to privacy will go on for a long time. At least one editor I know believes there should be a statute of limitations when it comes to questions about adultery. But obviously something done openly in the middle of the campaign is going to make news.

I personally agonized over whether to ask candidates the Big A question and decided it was really nobody's bloody business. I just don't think it is all that relevant in judging a candidate.

When the Gary Hart and Donna Rice affair started to unfold, did David Frost, the political reporter, find himself at odds with David Frost, the political satirist?

Ah, well, I had a good laugh in private at some of the jokes. But most of them are unprintable for this distinguished journal.



STANLEY TRETICK

Were you surprised by the way any of the candidates handled themselves during your interviews?

The biggest surprise was George Bush. I didn't expect him to have such a relaxed sense of humor. Likewise, I was struck by Bob Dole's candor in discussing the self-examination he went through after he was wounded in World War II. Interviewing Pat Robertson, I noticed he has a kind of twinkle in his voice which enables him to make very stark statements in a light-hearted way.

What about the Democrats?

Michael Dukakis showed tremendous self-confidence and composure, even though his campaign had been thrown into disarray the day of



our interview by the resignation of his top aide, John Sasso. And Jesse Jackson, of course, revealed that he has a great gift for language. When I asked him whether he would inherit a legacy from the current administration which could be characterized as racist, he countered with the phrase "race conscious and negative." That is brilliant. It avoided the tabloid headlines and showed he is playing for real. Albert Gore has an extraordinary quality of cautious reflection, thinking things through when he's talking. This came out when he was talking about the effect of suffering on one's faith, in this case the suffering he saw in Vietnam. I thought that he would be emerging a great deal more than he has.

Who do you think would make the best President?

That's one question I feel duty bound to evade. It's up to the American voters to give an answer.

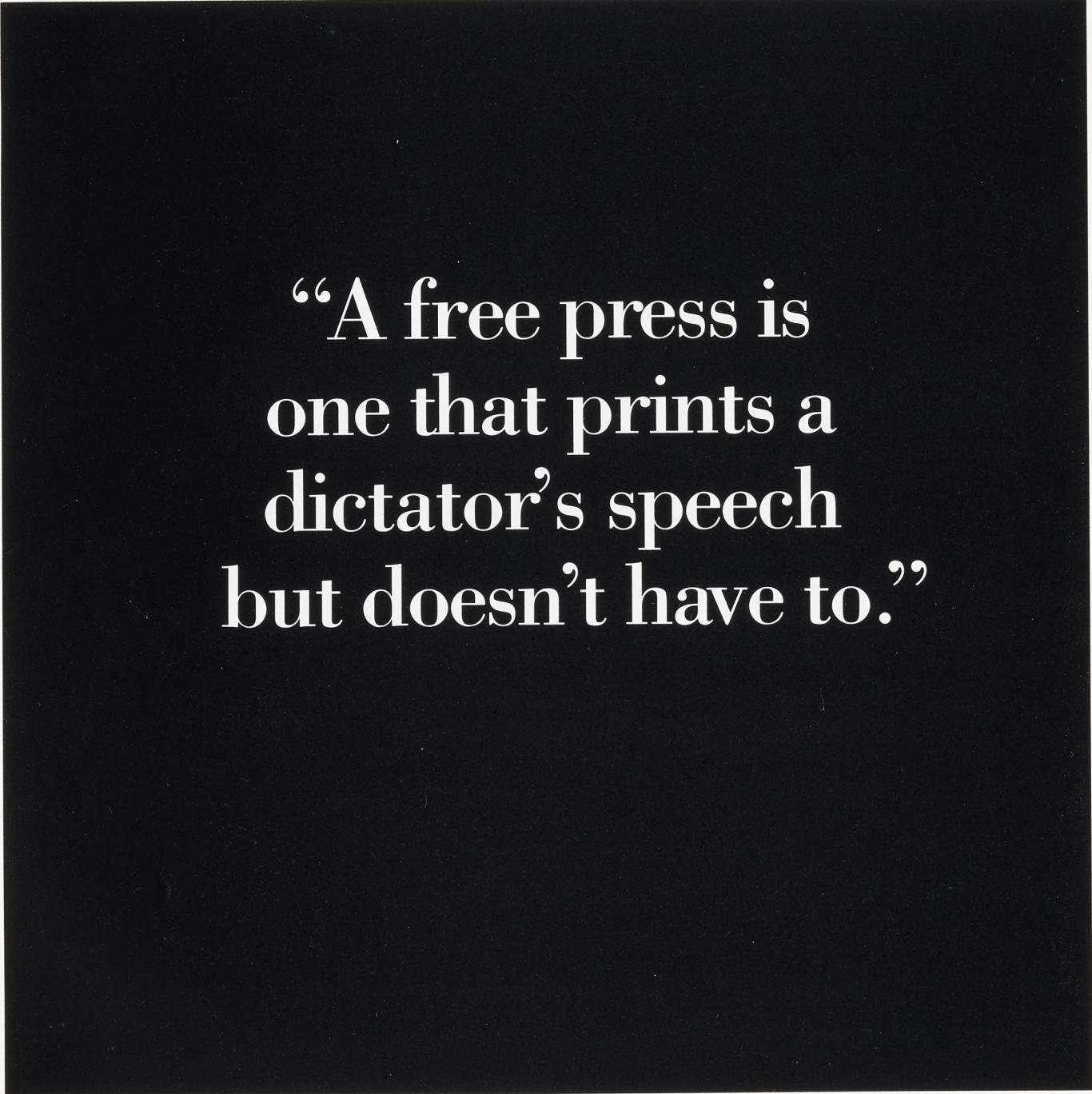
How well do you think our process of choosing a President works?

As a British citizen, I believe America has much to teach Britain about the vigor of its politics. It's no accident that in America people run for office, but in Britain they just stand for it. At the same time, I think America, like Britain, can be characterized by Winston Churchill's definition of democracy: "the worst system, except for the others." There is a sanity to the process, but that doesn't mean the best man always wins.

Taking stock of the field, Frost was impressed by the personal candor of the White House aspirants in the current race.

Your interviewing style is very polite and gentlemanly. Do you think the American press is too tough on candidates?

I believe one must suit his technique to the occasion. And my object in these interviews was to draw the candidates out, not test them on their records. There's an Aesop fable about the sun and the wind having a battle to get someone's coat off. The wind huffs and puffs and blows and the man just draws his coat closer around him. But the sun just shines and the man takes his coat off. There are times when an interviewer should act like the wind and times when he should act like the sun. But you shouldn't huff and puff like the wind just for the sound of it. □



“A free press is
one that prints a
dictator’s speech
but doesn’t have to.”

FORTUNE

A LOCAL TV ANCHOR TALKS ABOUT HER UNIQUE PERSPECTIVE FROM THE 'SECOND-BEST SEAT IN THE HOUSE'

by Liz Walker



RICHARD HOWARD

Walker confers with reporter Andy Hiller before the WBZ evening newscast.

The new technology gives local television the opportunity to cover the election as well as—sometimes even better than—the networks. Our new satellite trucks can link our viewers live to any location in the country. If Joe Candidate decides to speak to farmers in Iowa, all we need to be there is a road and a clear view of the sky, which is no problem in Iowa.

On a national level, reporters are limited by time and the reality that they have to cover the whole country. Since we are on for an hour every night, we can be more issue-oriented. As an anchor, I can speak directly with the candidates—no matter where they are in the country—about regional concerns.

We don't have reporters on the campaign from start to finish—we have to bring them back every once in a while—so in that respect the networks might have an advantage. But I think the typical New Englander is just as well served watching local television as network

TV from the Iowa caucuses onward.

We in Boston television have an incredible responsibility because New Hampshire voters watch our newscasts. Immediately after the Iowa caucuses, the candidates came to our reporters because they knew people in New Hampshire would be watching. Our reporters had been covering the candidates for a year, so they really knew them well. I think New England TV reporters are the brightest, most knowledgeable in the country. With all the colleges and universities here, we have a very sophisticated audience, and they demand a lot of local TV reporters. Even though I sit at an anchor desk in Boston, the new satellite technology allows me to feel the excitement and intensity of what is happening in the field. I can ask questions, just as the reporter can. I can say to Vice-President Bush, "I have a question for you," or "Let me interject here." I would rather be there with the candidates, of course, but my seat is

the second-best seat in the house. I take all our coverage seriously; sometimes I feel like I am studying for the biggest final exam of my life.

One difficulty here is that our Governor is running for President, and we have to find a balance so that our coverage is fair not only to Dukakis but to all the candidates. We are all watching the Governor's campaign and thinking we might be covering an Inaugural ball next year. We kind of sit back and think, "My gosh, this man might really do it," but we try not to put this in our coverage.

It is a unique position that I have in television in a major market where a Governor is running for President. To watch this process from beginning to end really makes me feel patriotic. I have watched the system, and I think it works. □

Liz Walker is an anchorwoman at WBZ-TV in Boston.

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MCDONNELL DOUGLAS

WITH A PRESS LIKE THIS, SAYS A SOVIET EDITOR, WHO NEEDS SECRET POLICE?

by Vitaly Korotich

I have been watching the American campaign, and especially the way the American press reports on it, with increasing fascination. It began last fall in Reykjavík, when I met an American journalist who tried to convince me that Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts would be the next President of the United States. That pleased me. I said that with the coming millennium of the introduction of Christianity into Russia, a man whose ancestors came from Greece, the land of our godfathers, should be the right person for the job. My journalist friend, who worked for a Connecticut newspaper, said he thought that there was more to it than that. There were the facts, said he, that Governor Dukakis wore plain shirts, that he was an excellent husband, that he had conservative ideas about how to raise children. It seems that the press had even discovered the name of the farm where the future politician lived as a child—and even the name of the cow that provided the milk to nourish him.

Such fascinating information. After I read so many interesting reports last summer about the private life of Mr. Hart, it seemed to me that the circumspection of his competitors was quite remarkable by comparison. And the fact that Senator Dole wears red ties and is faithful to his wife has strengthened my conviction that the number of worthy contenders for the White House will grow steadily. Particularly so because Vice-President Bush is meticulously accurate in paying his taxes (although it remains unknown what dish he ordered when he had dinner with Lt. Col. Oliver North). Then, of course, there is the fact that the Rev. candidate Jesse Jackson is an excellent milkman. That seems to have moved him into a prominent position in the race.

Such detail. If I knew as much about my wife as I know about the candidates for the White House, we would have split up years ago. And if as much were known about myself as is known about the private lives of the presidential contenders, I'd be



Korotich is both awed and amused by U.S. campaign coverage.

afraid to show my face in the street. I could even suspect that during the election campaign the American press is being subsidized by the suspicious wives of certain Senators. Yes, with such an aggressive and meticulous press, the United States has no need of secret police, morality censors or a whole host of other organizations which are usually detested by the masses.

My sincere wish is that this process help the United States to elect a clever and honest man as its President. Certainly, if he manages to remain intact after being exposed to the X ray of the TV cameras and tape recorders, he will be strong enough to lead the country through any crisis. Indeed, the intensity of the election race is such that those who lose need not fear for employment. They will be able to get jobs in Florida modeling swimsuits, because they will have nothing to hide.

Seriously speaking, it is with intense interest that I watch the working of the American press during an election campaign. Sometimes people's secrets are uncovered so quickly that there isn't enough time to think. But I wonder: Is it better that I am only now learning the secrets of Stalin?

The important thing is to be sure that dishonest people do not assume power, not today, not tomorrow, not ever. And if worst comes to worst, I am ready to forgive the President of the United States a precipitate love affair with a woman. It is important as a matter of principle that he is capable of loving, of loving both his own people and the whole of mankind. If the American press helps a man like that into the White House, I shall respect it even more. □

Vitaly Korotich is editor of the Soviet weekly magazine *Ogonyok*.

52 times a year, no one reports it like **Newsweek** reports it.



WELL DONE, YANKS, SAYS A BRITISH COLLEAGUE, BUT MORE THAN JUST THE FACTS, PLEASE

by Simon Hoggart

Any foreign reporter here who doesn't acknowledge his debt to the American press is lying. Those massive screeds ("big enough to land a helicopter on," said a colleague, happily), the meticulous statistics, the lovingly sourced quotes and those stacks of seemingly unassailable facts—they are bedrock and foundation of our work.

We don't steal; at least not, for the most part, directly. But the American papers furnish a solid base of facts and background on which we can build our own information, supplied by our own contacts and supplemented by our own observations. Is this plagiarism? Sure it is, but then so is most journalism in one form or another, and there's no way our tiny offices could cover this vast, diverse country without it.

I also know of no other country whose press is so authoritative, so factually reliable and—despite what many Americans think—so unbiased. Any-one who doesn't believe this should take a closer look at the British tabloids and some of the shriller Continental sheets.

That said, I have to confess to a certain sinking feeling as I risk injury each morning stooping to pick up the morning pile of papers. There is actually more information than anyone can use, too much repetition, too many facts raining down on the reader like coal in a chute.

I sometimes speak at schools of journalism here, and I'm impressed by the way students are told never to mix editorializing into their news stories. It's a basic given, as essential as the value of π to a geometrician. But it has one drawback, which is that the reporter's judgment is rarely allowed to intrude upon the string of unadorned, often unconnected facts. I don't mean opinion—that's rightly confined to the editorial and op-ed pages. I do mean a reporter's expert assessment. For example, there's little point in quoting two Senators if you don't explain that one is highly esteemed by his colleagues and the other regarded as a bad joke whose views will likely carry no weight.

MIMI COTTER



Hoggart peers over his favorite sources in his D.C. office.

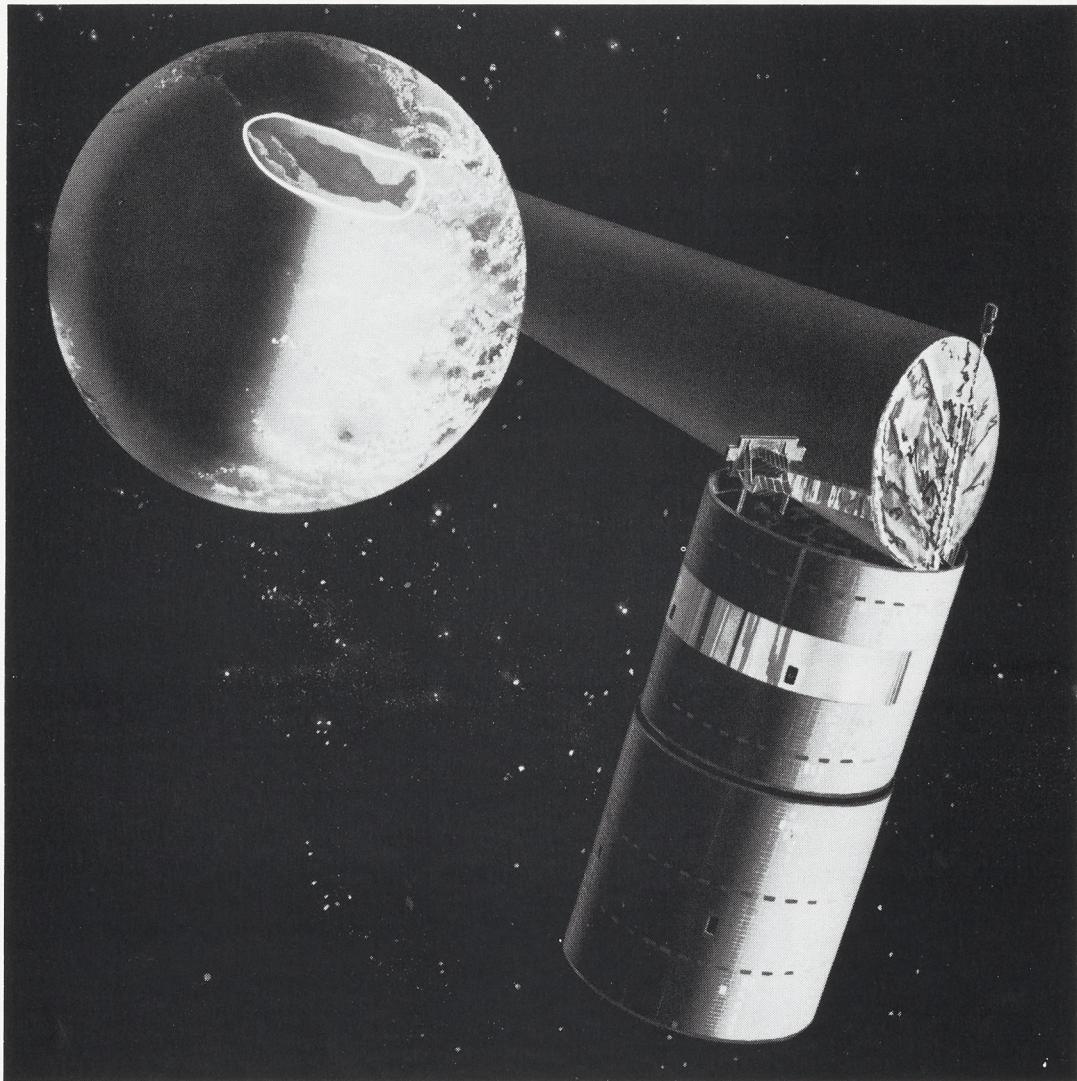
Recently I covered a Jesse Jackson meeting in Selma, Ala., where he was introduced by the white Mayor who'd ordered his arrest at the famous demonstration 23 years ago. Mayor Joe Smitherman said he'd been wrong, and the march had "made things better for everybody." It was an emotional moment, as powerful a symbol of the New South as you could find—and it was ignored by most American papers.

Even if you suspected that the Voting Rights Act had simply made the Mayor dependent on the black vote, it was well worth recording. Yet the rules which banish all editorializing banned any record of the other impact of the

meeting. The few reports I read were factually accurate, all right, but they struck me as just as misleading as a set of wrong statistics.

My message to the American papers is: Thanks, fellas, you do a terrific, thorough and dogged job. But let's have a little more color; make us feel what it's like to be there; give us some of the drama of this exciting election. And while we don't care how you vote, we'd be very interested in what you really think. □

Simon Hoggart is the Washington correspondent of the London Observer.



Hughes satellite links Los Angeles with earthquake-stricken Mexico City.

Communications with the world were cut off after the disastrous earthquake in Mexico City on Sept. 19, 1985.

The Mexican consulate in Los Angeles was flooded with phone calls from people wanting news of relatives. The consulate turned to Hughes Aircraft Company, builders of Mexico's Morelos communications satellite, for assistance.

Hughes engineers responded immediately. They located a shipment of communications equip-

ment en route to New York City, and diverted it to the satellite ground station outside the Mexican capital.

Hughes then pointed an antenna, located at the Hughes ground station near Los Angeles, toward the satellite, Morelos. The engineers completed the phone line by establishing a microwave link between the ground station and Hughes' offices, and hooking into the local phone system to the Mexican consulate in Los Angeles. The line was kept open 24 hours a day until the communications blackout was over.

By the time the crucial long-distance service was restored many days later, Hughes and Mexico's Morelos satellite had already helped countless people in their moment of need.

Hughes. Creativity America depends on.

HUGHES
AIRCRAFT COMPANY

Subsidiary of GM Hughes Electronics



The Asahi Shimbun

AMERICAN GENERAL BUREAU

STANLEY TRETICK



Bureau chief Murakami covers the U.S. for Asahi's 11 million readers.

A JAPANESE JOURNALIST ARGUES THAT A FOCUS ON CANDIDATES' PRIVATE LIVES WILL COST THE PRESS ITS CREDIBILITY

by Yoshio Murakami

Increasingly, American elections, particularly presidential campaigns, reflect the interdependence and opposition of the candidates and the media. The 1988 presidential campaign has enhanced this relationship in that every candidate has depended heavily upon television commercials, interviews with reporters and all kinds of media blitz. This more intimate relationship has been accompanied by a dramatic conflict between the news media and politicians, due to emphasis on character issues. Pursuit of details about the candidates' private lives now receives as much, if not more, coverage than the potential impact of various policies on national security, the economy and other important areas.

Revelations about the private lives of candidates have stirred up debate about whether this new level of scruti-

ny, while lively and seemingly popular with readers and television viewers, should become the rule in the coverage of political campaigns in the future. Too much emphasis on these less substantive issues, I believe, will not only confuse voters but may well put our own media credibility at risk. Allegations of plagiarism during college or marijuana use in the candidates' youth have exploded into the headlines in the 1988 campaign. When investigations into every aspect of a candidate's life from his early teens on become as important to reporters as his policy platform, I begin to wonder if this new format is perhaps less than ideal. From now on, reporters may have to face challenges about the purity of their own lives.

The fact that these questions arise shows the aggressiveness, persistence and constant effort on the part

of the American news media to open up new fields of coverage and reporting. For better or worse, we must admit that the American press corps does set the standard which news organizations around the world either try to emulate because it is good, or try to avoid because it is not desirable.

Ultimately, the news recipients, in this case the voters, will decide what kind of political coverage they want. In the meantime, it is always useful for the ever aggressive American news media to seek new dimensions of political coverage. It surely gives us a lot to learn when we cover our own election campaigns back in Japan. □

Yoshio Murakami is the Washington bureau chief for the Japanese daily Asahi Shimbun.

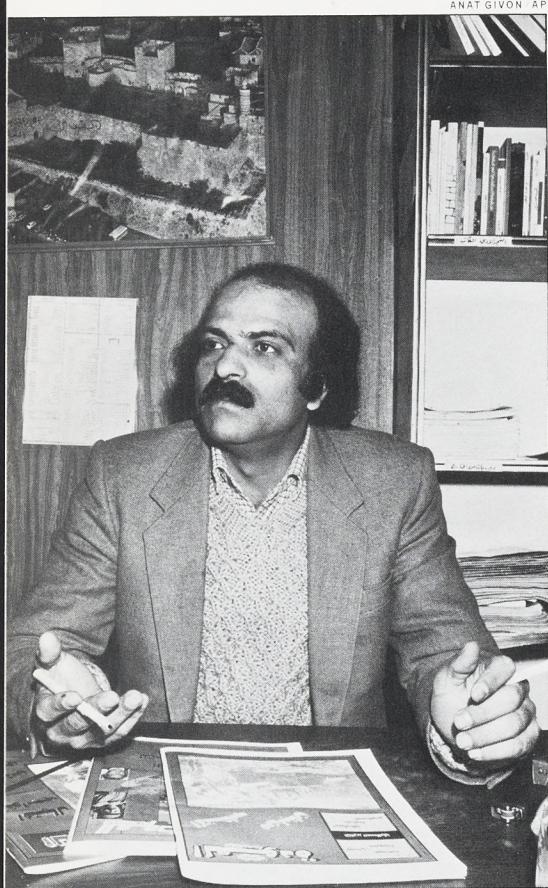


REUTERS/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

French photojournalist Alain Guillo faces a 10-year jail term in Afghanistan.

UNDER FIRE AROUND THE GLOBE, THE PRESS CORPS ENDURED GRIEVOUS LOSSES IN 1987

by Norman Schorr



Arab journalist Radwan Abu Ayyash has been held in Israel since December.

Violence took a heavy toll of journalists and journalism in 1987.

Incomplete reports show that at least 26 journalists were killed and hundreds were arrested, threatened, harassed, detained, intimidated, expelled or tortured. Newspapers and magazines were shut down, TV and radio programs were jammed, and print runs were aborted, limited and confiscated.

Many regimes viewed the press as a tool for control, manipulation and self-perpetuation. At the same time, journalists considered their objective and mandate was to inform, report, tell it like it was and expose when warranted.

The two divergent viewpoints came into conflict too often. In many situations, the spoken and printed words and photos prevailed. In others, the government and often-unidentified private groups resorted to physical violence and other abuses to stifle or punish their exposers.

These attacks on the press occurred principally in the closed-society countries where authorities assert and exercise total control. But, sadly, the incidents also took place in some

of the best-known open-society democracies.

According to a list prepared by the Committee to Protect Journalists, with the help of Amnesty International and International PEN, there were 69 journalists in 22 countries in jail, held hostage or in internal exile as of March 1988.

Here is the list:

AFGHANISTAN

Fausto Biloslavo — Italian journalist with Albatross Press Agency, detained in November 1987. Said to be charged with entering country illegally, having contacts with rebels.

Alain Guillo — French free-lance journalist sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for espionage, entering country illegally and having contacts with rebels.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Thomas Kwazo — Journalist with Agence Centrafricaine de Presse, reportedly sentenced to three years imprisonment for "misinforming the public."

CHAD

Saleh Gaba — Local journalist, formerly with AP and Agence France-Presse, reportedly held incomunicado without trial since July 1987, probably for criticism of the government.

CHILE

Juan Pablo Cardenas — Director of *Analisis* magazine, sentenced to 18 months part-time imprisonment for insulting Chile's President.

CHINA

He Qiu — A shipyard worker involved with several unofficial publications, sentenced to 10 years in jail for "inciting violation of laws and decrees of state."

Liu De — Editor of *Jiannan Literature and Art Journal*, sentenced to seven years imprisonment for making speech critical of Communist Party.

Liu Qing — Co-founder of unofficial journal *April Fifth Forum*, reportedly sentenced in 1982 to seven years imprisonment.

Wang Xizhe — Editor of unofficial journal *Responsibility*, sentenced in May 1982 to 14 years imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary" activities.

Wei Jingsheng — Editor of unofficial journal *Exploration*, sentenced in October 1979 to 15 years imprisonment for propaganda and passing "secret information" to foreign journalist.

Xu Wenli — Co-founder of unofficial journal *April Fifth Forum*, sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for "organizing a counterrevolutionary group."

Zhu Jianbin — Co-founder of unofficial journal *The Sound of the Bell*, arrested in April 1981. Never publicly tried.

CUBA

Guillermo (a/k/a Fernando) Rivas

Porta — Journalist with *Bohemia* magazine, reportedly sentenced to 30 years imprisonment for trying to leave the country illegally.

Luis Rodriguez Rodriguez — Staffer at now-defunct Havana daily *El País*, arrested in 1960 and serving a 30-year sentence for "crimes against the state."

ETHIOPIA

Martha Kumsa — Worked for the journal *Barissa*, detained February 1980 during mass arrests, never tried.

GHANA

Kwame Karikari — Communications lecturer, journalist and opposition politician, arrested in July 1987. Reportedly held under law permitting indefinite detention without trial.

ISRAEL (Occupied Territories)

Radwan Abu Ayyash — Head of the Arab Journalists' Association, held since December 1987 under administrative detention.

Ribhi Al-Aruri — Journalist with the weekly *Tariq Al-Sharara*, arrested February 1988.

Hani Al-Issawi — Free-lance journalist, placed under administrative detention January 1988.

Nabhan Khoreishe — Correspondent for *Al-Fajr* newspaper, placed under administrative detention February 1988.

Sam'an Khouri — Stringer for Agence France-Presse, placed under administrative detention January 1988.

Al-Mutawakil Taha — Journalist with the Palestine Press Service, under investigative arrest and detention since February 1988.

Salah Zuheikeh — Acting director of the Arab Journalists' Association, placed under administrative detention January 1988.

KENYA

David Njuguna Mutonya — Representative of Kenya News Agency, serving four years in jail for "possession of seditious publications."

Mugo Theuri Wanyeri — Correspondent for the *Standard* newspaper, detained September 1986 and sentenced to four years in prison for joining a seditious organization.

James Achira — Journalist with the *Daily Nation*, arrested December 1986 and reportedly sentenced to two years

in prison for membership in a clandestine organization.

LEBANON

Terry Anderson — U.S. journalist, chief Middle East correspondent of the AP, kidnapped in March 1985 in West Beirut, held hostage ever since.

Alec Collett — British journalist on assignment for a United Nations agency, abducted in March 1985 in a Beirut suburb. Unconfirmed reports say he has been killed.

Jean-Paul Kauffman — French journalist with *L'Evénement du Jeudi*, kidnapped in May 1985.

John McCarthy — British journalist on assignment for Worldwide Television News, kidnapped in April 1986.

LIBYA

Ahmed Muhammad al-Fitouri, Khalifa Sifaw Khaboush, Ali Muhammad Hadid al-Rheibi and Idris Muhammad Ibn Tayeb — These four journalists are among several writers and journalists arrested in December 1978 following a meeting to commemorate the death of Libyan poet Ali Raji'y.

MAURETANIA

Ibrahima Sarr — Journalist, serving five-year sentence for distributing pamphlet alleging discrimination against blacks.

MEXICO

Jorge Enrique Hernandez Aguilar — Co-director of *Hoy* newspaper, arrested and detained in May 1986, probably for his outspoken support of peasant grievances.

NEPAL

Hariha Virahi — Editor of *Saptahik Jana Jyoti* newspaper, arrested in August 1987 and reportedly held under the Treason Act after publishing an article critical of King Birendra.

SINGAPORE

Chia Thye Poh — Opposition Member of Parliament, university lecturer and editor of a party newspaper. Held since 1966 under the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention without charge or trial.

SOUTH AFRICA

Themba Khumalo — Free-lance Soweto journalist, formerly with AP, arrested September 1987, detained indefinitely without charge.

Maropodi Mapalakanye — Regional organizer for Media Workers Association of South Africa, arrested October 1987 under the Internal Security Act.

Vincent Mfundisi — Journalist with South African Broadcasting Corporation, arrested in October 1987.



1987 Golden Pen winner Juan Pablo Cardeñas has an 18-month jail term in Chile.

Brian Sokutu — Free-lance journalist, detained in June 1986 under new state of emergency regulations.

Zwelakhe Sisulu — Editor of *New Nation* weekly, former president of black media workers' union, and Nieman Fellow at Harvard, rearrested December 1986.

SOVIET UNION

Gintautas lesmantas — Editor of literary philosophy journal *Alma Mater*, arrested March 1980, sentenced to six years in a labor camp and five years internal exile.

Yelena Nikitichna Sennikova — Arrested January 1984 for participating in publication of *Chronicle of Current Events* and sentenced to one year in a labor camp, four years internal exile.

TAIWAN

Chang Hau-Min — Writer, historian, journalist, sentenced January 1980 to 10 years imprisonment for "making pro-Communist propaganda."

Shih Ming-Teh — General manager of *Formosa* magazine, sentenced in April 1980 to life imprisonment following human rights rally sponsored by the magazine.

TURKEY

Oral Calislar — Journalist with *Aydinlik*, a banned publication, sentenced to eight years imprisonment.

Mehmet Coban — Journalist with

Iktibas, an Islamic newspaper, arrested in 1985 and sentenced to six years in prison for "antiseclar propaganda."

Ilker Demir, Bektas Erdogan and Feyzullah Ozer — Editors of *Kitle*, a banned journal, sentenced to imprisonments of eight, 36 and 18½ years, respectively, for "Communist propaganda."

Candemir Ozler — Editor of *Savas Yolu*, arrested May 1981, sentenced to 23 years imprisonment for "Communist progaganda."

Erhan Tuskan — Editor of *llerici Yurtsever Genclik* periodical, arrested October 1980, tried on charges of "Communist propaganda," sentenced to 48 years in prison.

Huseyin Ulger — Editor of *Genc Soysalist* journal, sentenced in 1979 to 18 years imprisonment for "Communist propaganda."

Hasas Fikret Ulusoydan — Editor of political journal *Halkin Sesi*, imprisoned since November 1980.

VENEZUELA

Victor Gonzalez — Editor of *E/Espectador*, confined for three years for writing about corruption.

VIETNAM

Doan Quoc Sy — professor and novelist; **Hoang Hai Thuy**, novelist and journalist; **Khuat Duy Trac**, director of a journal, lawyer and musician; **Le Khai Trach**, radio journalist; **Le Van Tien**, editor; **Nguyen Hai Chi**, cartoonist; **Nguyen Khanh Giu**, editor and writer; **Pham Van Lam Binh**, journalist of Chinese origin; **Phan Nhat Nam**, author and journalist; **Tran Duc Uyen**, journalist and poet; **Tran Duy Hinh**, magazine and newspaper journalist; **Vo Long Trieu**, newspaper owner and editor.

These 12 Vietnamese journalists are believed to be in prison or "re-education" camps. There is only scant information about their cases or reasons for their detention.

A few served the Thieu government in some capacity and were arrested shortly after its fall in 1975. Some were rounded up in 1976 after authorities reviewed what they had written during the Thieu years. Others appear to have been detained because of writing activities since 1976. Nearly all have been deprived of a trial. □

Norman Schorr is the chairman of the Overseas Press Club's Freedom of the Press Committee.

HIS FRIENDS HAVE SCATTERED, HIS FAMILY WAITS; CORRESPONDENT TERRY ANDERSON IS STILL IN CAPTIVITY

by Earleen Fisher

Three years since Associated Press correspondent Terry Anderson was abducted at gunpoint on the streets of West Beirut.

For Terry, three years in the makeshift prisons of Lebanese Shi'ites who are imbued with the revolutionary zeal, Islamic fundamentalism and virulent anti-Americanism of Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

For Terry's family and friends, three years of fear, frustration and futile attempts to bring about his release.

Three years of watching other hostages set free and knowing the pain Terry must feel as he waits and waits.

Three years of news reflecting international wheeling and dealing, including the hostages-for-arms plan embracing Nicaraguan contras and senior officials of the governments of the United States, Israel and Iran.

Three years, and there's no indication Terry is any closer to freedom than he was three hours after he was kidnapped.

Terry first came to West Beirut in the summer of 1982, when the Moslem half of the Lebanese capital was being bombed and shelled by the Israelis in their bid to drive out the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Associated Press was pulling in extra staffers to help out—whenever it was possible to get them through the Israeli lines and the shells. Terry was recruited from AP's Johannesburg bureau. He arrived. He worked. He was cool under fire. As an ex-Marine who

had served in Vietnam, he knew what he was seeing—and his copy communicated his knowledge.

At times he seemed a pretty unlikely ex-Marine: He was flatfooted, pudgy and color-blind behind his Coke-bottle glasses, but bulldog-determined.

After a month in Lebanon, he went back to Johannesburg—but the South African story was slow then, and the Lebanon story was hot. In November 1982, Terry returned to Beirut as the agency's news editor. In August 1983, he became head of the office—AP's chief Middle East correspondent. On March 16, 1985, he was kidnapped.

Three years later, the people who

REUTERS/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

worked with Terry in Beirut have scattered all over the world. There have been promotions, demotions, births, weddings, funerals. Every tidbit of information and misinformation emerging about Terry rockets around the world on the grapevine to those who know him. In New York, in Washington, in London, in Nicosia, in other capitals and byways, people gather periodically and swap Terry stories. Among them:

— The diet-and-exercise program he embarked on two months before his kidnapping, in retrospect a bit ironic. He shed 20 lbs. that might have come in handy for a man on hostage rations.

— His tennis game, the last completed just minutes before his abduction.

— His jogs along the Mediterranean corniche with his dog, Jolie, a Rhodesian Ridgeback acquired in South Africa.

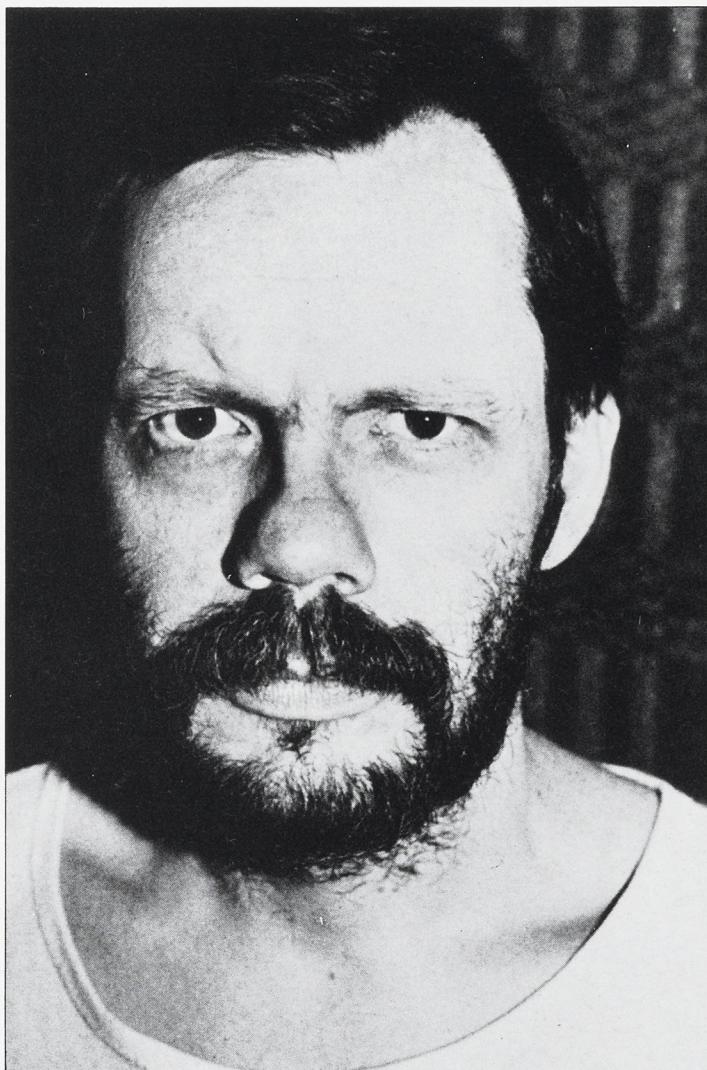
— The tax problem he doesn't know he had: The IRS wanted his overdue return and had trouble dealing with the explanation of "Can't file"—held hostage in Lebanon."

— The stories he wrote. He was one of the first reporters on the scene when Shi'ite suicide bombers blew up the U.S. Embassy in West Beirut and the Marine barracks.

— And the stories he hasn't been able to write.

For three years. □

Earleen Fisher, chief of AP's New Delhi bureau, worked with Terry Anderson in the Middle East.



Anderson's captors delivered this picture Oct. 27, 1987.

The Washington Post

PARADE

Walter Anderson,
the editor of
'Parade,'
and Vitaly
Korotich, the
editor of
'Ogonyok,' two
journalists
with distinctly
different and
opposed
philosophies,
visit one
another's
country
and, as
their journeys
end, each
finds himself
pursuing the
answer to a
single
question:



CAN WE WAGE PEACE?

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